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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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10 OCTOBER 1986

## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

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BRIEFS

**SHIPPING LINE EXPANDS**--The first wholly African-owned shipping line in East Africa, Allied Oil Supplies has brought in second ship and is set to branch out into the lucrative business of shipping and importing oil by the end of the year. According to the company's general manager in Mombasa, Peter Mbendo, this new venture will guarantee them the annexation of 60% of the market served by foreign oil firms. Allied Oil was established last year and has earned Kenya foreign exchange in excess of 30m shillings. No profit levels have, however, been released. The company serves the eastern Africa states of Seychelles, Tanzania, Somalia and the Comoros. The new ship was launched on July 10th and will supplement the Sofia, launched a year ago. The new ship will have a capacity of 6,000 tons of cargo. [Text] [Paris AFRICA DEFENSE JOURNAL in English Aug 86 p 27] /9274

**OAU, ECA MAP IMPROVEMENT EFFORTS**--On 9 May, Cartography Year in Africa was officially proclaimed by the Organization for African Unity and the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), within the framework of a program that aims at the establishment of more precise maps that will make a better contribution to development efforts. Messrs Ide Oumarou, OAU secretary general, and Adebayo Adedeji, ECA executive secretary, stated on this occasion that 23 percent of the total surface area of the African continent had been accurately mapped at present. In a joint communique the two officials stated that "the lack of precise and well-documented information is one of the factors which for years have slowed down the economic development of a continent endowed with abundant natural resources." In the course of this cartography year, the OAU and the ECA, with the help of international organizations, hope to be able to make use of various techniques, including teledetection and aerial reconnaissance, so that the map of Africa may be complete by the end of the century. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE-DEFENSE in French Jul 86 p 28] 8117

## UNITA OUTLINES PEACE OFFER TO MPLA, CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Santos Government Denies Contact

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 86 p 11

[Text]

JAMBA (Angola) — The Unita leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi, outlined a peace offer to Angola's Marxist rulers yesterday, calling for negotiations on withdrawal of all foreign troops and a national unity government leading to elections.

"War is not good business. Our people want to go home and plough, go to their villages and cows," Dr Savimbi said in an interview after the news conference announcement at his headquarters.

He said the "platform for peace" was developed at a six-day congress of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola, which he said gathered two thousand delegates from all 16 provinces of the embattled country.

Dr Savimbi said unofficial talks had been conducted in London and Paris with representatives of President Eduardo dos Santos' government, which has denied any contacts.

Both Unita and Mr dos Santos' Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) fought for independence from Portugal, but in the 1975 civil war that followed, Dr Savimbi lost to the MPLA, which is supported by Cuban troops and Soviet advisers.

South Africa has supported Unita in its 11-year struggle for

a power-sharing agreement and the United States began sending aid last April.

"United States aid is for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution. If peace negotiations began, we would need no more aid," Dr Savimbi said. But the Soviets would also have to stop arming the other side, he said.

"In 1975 while we were talking, they were arming."

Dr Savimbi's "platform for peace" called for:

"An official and unequivocal deposition from MPLA that it is willing to negotiate, and we will start negotiations immediately ... to deal with the problems of total withdrawal of foreign troops from our country.

"Then we can declare a ceasefire between our forces and MPLA forces and all national forces will maintain the positions they have, leading to a government of national unity that will lead to peace in our country and finally to elections, so each will know the popularity it has."

At the news conference in the camouflaged military camp, Unita's intelligence chief, Brigadier Peregrino Isidro Chindondo, displayed maps showing recent battles.

There has been heavy fighting against Cuban forces from Munhango to Moxico on either

side of the 1500 km Benguela railroad that connects Angola's Lobito port to the food, minerals and trade of Zaire and Zambia.

"We have cut the railway and we have the intention of blowing it up completely," Dr Savimbi said. "We know this brings untold suffering to our people. But we are suffering from foreign intervention and I do not think opening up the railway will relieve our situation."

Dr Savimbi was asked to respond to a charge made by American black civil rights activist, the Rev Jesse Jackson, that Unita was targeting American oil company installations in the Cabinda coastal province where 300 American workers are stationed. Mr Jackson had suggested that the guerrillas might someday use American-supplied weapons to kill United States citizens.

"We are fighting in Cabinda but we are avoiding hitting those installations because we want to avoid hurting Americans," Dr Savimbi said, adding that the oil companies, Gulf and Chevron, were encouraging the Cuban presence in Angola by employing Cuban workers.

"But I don't think Jesse Jackson knows a lot about all those things," Dr Savimbi said.

— Sapa-Associated Press.

## Talks Reportedly Held in Europe, England

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Sep 86 p 16

[Article by Stephan Terblanche]

[Text]

ANGOLA'S economic crisis, caused by the war against Unita and the drop in oil prices, led to recent secret peace talks between the ruling MPLA and Unita.

The "unofficial" meeting between senior MPLA officials and Unita was confirmed by Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. The contacts took place in Britain and Europe.

But it was not only economic pressure that led to the talks, sources say. Luanda is slowly beginning to recognise

that Unita cannot be defeated at war, so it is considering the alternative — shared power.

There are also reports of growing dissent between the MPLA and the 40 000 Cuban troops in Angola.

According to sources, members of the MPLA delegation told Unita officials that there was a growing desire in Luanda to rid Angola of the Cubans and Soviet "advisers", as they had virtually taken control of the country.

Several clashes have occurred between senior MPLA officials and Soviet

and Cuban officials. These revolved around:

- A decision at the MPLA's second congress last year to demote pro-Moscow radicals in the party.

- A decision to move troops, preparing for another offensive against Unita in the south, to the northern oil and diamond fields after sabotage attacks by Unita succeeded in distracting MPLA troops from their offensive.

- Disagreement between MPLA and Cuban/Soviet military commanders about when and where the second offensive should be launched.

/9274

CSO: 3400/28

## CIVIL WAR SPILLS OVER INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Sep 86 p 9

[Text]

The Angolan civil war is spilling into neighbouring countries. Unita rebels are now operating on a small scale in Zambia's Western and North Western provinces and there is evidence of increased Unita activity in Zaire.

These developments follow last month's threat by the Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to strike back at Zambia which, he said, has now given permission for its territory to be used for attacks against his movement.

In the last two weeks Zambian officials have accused Unita rebels of kidnapping Zambian citizens and of launching a campaign of terror in the border areas of North Western province.

On Friday Zambian sources also alleged that remnants of the Mushala gang had reappeared in the North Western province.

Zambian officials say two women who had been abducted escaped last month from the insurgents' camp at Mwinilunga Boma.

A top Zambian Government official in North Western Province, Mr Ludwig Sondashi, has banned any statements on the security situation there. He said, however, that the police and the army had been mobilised to deal with the matter.

Last month Dr Savimbi said he had information that President Kaunda had given permission for Zambia to be used by Cuban and Angolan Government forces to attack his forces from the east.

His accusation coincided with reports circulating in Europe that the Zambian Government had decided to allow Angola Government forces to be resupplied from Zambia.

The Angolan Government was unable to resupply some of its garrisons because of Unita's activities. Arms were thus flown from Luanda to Lusaka and then taken to the government forces overland by truck, the reports said.

Unita guerillas are said to have retaliated by mining roads in the border areas.

## ETHNIC AFFINITY

In an interview at Unita headquarters at Jamba in south-east Angola, Dr Savimbi said last month that for "ethnic reasons" Unita enjoyed great support in Zambia and could easily make life difficult for President Kenneth Kaunda.

Unita claims the support of the Lunda and Luval tribes which inhabit both sides of the border.

A similar ethnic affinity between Unita guerillas and tribes in neighbouring countries is being

exploited by the Angolan rebels to infiltrate the oil-rich Cabinda enclave, separated from the Angolan territory by a stretch of Zairean territory and which also borders the Congo.

"As long as I am here that railway will never be opened," said a defiant Dr Savimbi at Jamba last month when told that the Benguela railway could be an alternative route for the South African ports and railways.

Relations between Angola and Zaire reached a low point when a group of Unita guerillas which in March kidnapped 182 foreign nationals from the mining town of Andrada fled to Zaire with their hostages. Despite demands by the Luanda government to have the guerillas arrested and extradited to Angola the Zaire government took no action.

Although no details of American help to Unita have been released it is believed that it is from Zaire that the American are channeling their military aid to the Angolan rebels. American military transport planes have been seen at Kinshasa's airport.

According to reports published in Lisbon, 400 Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and 20 launchers for the missiles were initially supplied to Unita by the Americans.

## LACK OF TRANSPORTATION FOR BUTANE GAS IN HUAMBO

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 2 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] The popularization of the use of butane gas is one of the goals of the party, and SONANGOL is expected to push for this during the 1986-1990 period; this will require a plan of action to improve and intensify not only the supply system but also the distribution network.

In order to learn more about SONANGOL's efforts in this regard, and at the same time about the poor supply and distribution of gas that has been the cause of much criticism, we contacted the SONANGOL regional delegate, Joao Cangombe.

We began by asking Joao Cangombe what sector of SONANGOL is responsible for the planning and distribution for gas. "We have a gas management group that is subdivided into two sectors: commercial, and operations, which is under my direct control. Our main task is that of packaging and distribution. The distribution is done to our so called direct customers, defined as those who use large quantities of gas, and who because of this have their own installations for storing gas, and those who use large numbers of industrial size 55kg bottles. Hospitals, hotel chains, barracks, homes, party schools, and others. The rest we distribute through a retail network that we operate, and a small amount goes to us directly for industrial and domestic use."

"Our major problem is transportation, since 65 percent of the gas we receive from Benguela has to be shipped to Huambo. Bie gets 25 percent, and the rest goes to the K. Kubango province. The distribution varies. We are limited in terms of transportation. We have at present three 14-ton trucks. Each can transport 1050 12kg bottles, which means that our capacity for each trip is about 40 tons, or 80 tons per month. However, our loading facility is a local resource, granted to us only on a provisional basis by the provincial commissariat."

The SONANGOL delegate emphasized that management has made great efforts to resolve the lack of gas in the region. An extra heavy duty truck has been ordered, and should arrive in a few days. But this is not the main problem; what really affects the supply of gas is the small number of trips per month that are made. "We need to ship 150 tons a month in order to resolve our supply problem, but we only make two trips a month when that number should be doubled."

SONANGOL has 10 retailers in the home territory, where the population consumes 50 percent of supplies, while 40 percent goes to direct customers.

Joao Congombe said that there are retailers in all of the province's municipalities. "Only in Ukuma do we work through a concessionaire, who gets his supplies from Benguela; all other retailers are our responsibility, and they received 700 bottles in the past 6 months, which is not much, but is all we can manage."

We asked what was the best way to go about obtaining a storage bottle, since we understand that supplies of such bottles have been suspended.

"We had to do that in order to fight the trend in which certain people invent a thousand and one reasons why they should have more than three bottles in their home, with some having as many as five, while others have none."

He also warned that all those who are using industrial size 55kg bottles in their homes are taking a risk, since such bottles require special installation procedures; such individuals should exchange the large bottles for the domestic 12kg size.

Supply and distribution delivers to EDINBA 90 percent of SONANGOL's stove production, leaving only 10 percent for the workers. On this matter the delegate said, "All of the types of gas appliances, from stoves and burners to gas lamps, that we receive go only to the workers. It is not SONANGOL who should be selling to the public, but Internal Commerce. We received 600 burners and they have already been distributed to the workers."

The other side of the problem is that of repairs of gas burners. In Huambo there is a repair center at SONANGOL that does all kinds of repairs.

"We have a stove repair center which gives high quality service," said Joao Congombe. "I would say that this center is one of the best equipped in the country in terms of both quantity of parts and quality of service."

12857/12859  
CSO: 3442/302

## AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT STATIONS BENEFIT LUCALA

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Aug 86 p 3

[Article by Feleciano Pacheco: "The Contribution of the EDA's in the Development of the Lucala Municipality"]

[Excerpts] Agricultural Development Station (ADS) are state companies with local responsibilities, reporting to the Ministry of Agriculture, and created for the support and development of the rural sector, particularly their associations and cooperatives.

The definition of the ADS as a structure for intervention is contained in the Global Emergency Plan, and it is on the basis of this plan that they are set up in the field. Lucala, a highly agricultural area, produces not only coffee, but also corn, beans, manioc, yams, and other staples. Coreias 1 and 2 and Pamba contain many hectares dedicated to the cultivation of these products on a large scale, and, along with horticultural locations there, they constitute the agricultural complex of Lucala.

The municipality is economically important to the province, and, since the management structures which existed previously under the Ministry of Agriculture were not responsive to the global needs of the sector, and the local agricultural company created many bottlenecks, the ADS for Lucala was established on 11 August 1985. The ADS has a broad responsibility for meeting production needs of the farmers and has made an important contribution to the resolution of problems of bringing goods to the market and the supply of foodstuffs and farm equipment to the farmers.

The director of the Lucala ADS, Jose Mouzinho, told us, "The Lucala ADS deals with 28 Farmers Associations involving 2,500 people." He said that the greater part of the cultivated land in the area is subject to attack by plant viruses, and that much of the land is contaminated. He also said, "The 1120 tons of production forecast for this area may be reduced because of irregular rainfall in the region and the lack of utilization of fertilizers. The role of the ADS is to offer services that will improve the situation.

The only ADS services paid for by the farmers are those of mechanization and the bringing of goods to market. The ADS chief said, "During the 1985/86 production year, about 70 tons of seeds were distributed here, with 60 of them for those farmers in the association, and 10 for isolated and small producers.

We also distributed some 3,000 farm implements such as hoes, rakes, and cutters. The farmers received 13 tons of fertilizer for application at 14 demonstration fields for various products."

The Lucala ADS has about 30 people, including farm hands and rural consultants (whose salaries have not been paid since last October), and it also runs eight small agricultural producers who concentrate on flower production for the parks in the municipality.

The station has five trucks, three of them heavy, and 15 tractors, which constitute the means by which the station helps the associations and transports their products. The lack of parts, spares, and tires, as well as a lack of farming equipment such as boots and gloves for protection against chemicals for the field workers are major problems. The ADS received 15.5 tons of food from the state, and shipped 7 tons of goods to market.

12857/12859  
CSO: 3442/302

# INTRA-PARTY DIVISIONS ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS NOTED

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 14 Aug 86 p 26

[Article by Carlos da Matta]

[Text] The conclusion drawn by many observers following the 2nd MPLA-PT Congress that the party's internal conflicts would stop seems to be less and less true. The departure of some of the "traditional" leaders and their allies--who made up a group claiming exclusive ownership rights over the struggle for liberation and who, as other MPLA-PT leaders, shifted back and forth between leftist and rightist stands--was not enough to unify the group in power.

Besides various examples observed in recent months in the central or provincial party organs, we are now seeing a race for offices of "deputy" in the People's Assembly and provincial assemblies, and it is already clear that these same "traditional politicians" and light-skinned party members (either coincidentally or not) are the target of criticism and attacks tending to alienate them from these organs. Accusations of attempted government take-over have even been circulating.

This, however, is not the entire picture, and there are even frequent clashes among the president's supporters, which explain the constant delays in completing the ministerial reorganization. There are also notorious conflicts with regard to some large economic projects, such as the cement factory.

## Cimangola's Losses

Cimangola--the successor of Secil do Ultramar, where the Portuguese capital was nationalized--is a joint Angolan-Danish economic venture headed by Central Committee member Joao Garcia (who uses the "nom de guerre" of Castelo Branco). He is linked with Roberto de Almeida of the Politburo, in charge of ideology and regarded as the leader of Marxism mixed with "negroism" (the ideology of former Haitian dictator F. Duvalier, which better describes this trend in the MPLA-PT than Senghor's "negritude").

As for the current leadership, the enterprise has accumulated incalculable losses and is constantly having technical breakdowns, preventing it from providing even minimum supplies to the domestic market and causing a huge black

market in cement. Despite this, they decided to build a costly special pier... for exports. This project was the responsibility of the Danish shareholder; it has been completed and, obviously, has yet to be used, causing sarcastic smiles among Luandans.

Moreover, despite the fact that existing furnaces are underused, the management intends to build a fourth furnace, through the same shareholder. Pedro Van-Dunen ("Loy"), a state minister very close to the president, argued that the partners should be diversified and that this project should be given to a firm from another country.

Mr Joao Garcia reacted by totally rejecting the idea, to the point of even challenging "Loy," an apparently powerful official who, however, has come under sharp criticism for signing the Kapanda dam contract.

Denmark is present in Angola through Danida as well, which finances and supports some projects, and through the capital and management of Secil maritima, whose government representative is Mr Garcia himself. A virtual example of "vodka-coca cola"....

The finance minister drew up a report on the situation at Cimangola, which is living from one bank loan to the next, and the President of the Republic is expected to make a decision, but various aspects of this case show clearly how the national economy is conducted and the limits of power, even at the highest level.

#### Aversion to War

Meanwhile the war goes on and, despite the fact that we are already into August, when a large part of the vegetation dies off and rivers dry up, it is UNITA that is maintaining the initiative in various provinces. As for the problem of FAPLA detractors and deserters, their numbers can no longer be hidden, and even the JORNAL DE ANGOLA publishes a large number of arrest warrants.

This shows the increasing aversion to the war and people are losing their fear of saying so. For instance, an Angolan living in Luanda did not hesitate to sign and send to "Jeune Afrique"--legally sold in Angola--a letter launching "a strong appeal to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi." The Angolan people are fed up with the political, economic, social and cultural situation in the country. The author of the letter, Domingos Anderson, also appealed to African presidents (the letter was written prior to the OAU summit and was published in that magazine's issue 1335) to step up "efforts to stop the destruction of innocent lives and property which, with time, brings us to despair."

Just a short time ago a letter of this sort was simply unthinkable, and it shows the progress made by the peace movement, at least at a grass-roots level.

9805/12859  
CSO: 3442/292

## BRIEFS

CHIPENDA DEFECTS FROM UNITA--Do you know whom I saw passing by? Daniel Chipenda. Although he greeted me, once I recognized him, I looked the other way and did not speak to him. Isn't he now on best terms with the MPLA, going around in a Luanda embassy car in Lisbon and all? He is living in high style.... I have been told that after attending his mother's funeral in Lobito, he returned to Angola again, was received there by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and gave himself up to the interests of Luanda, the MPLA, the Cubans and Moscow. He received some benefits in return: he was made a sort of "itinerant ambassador" in the employ of the Russians who are convinced that they govern in Angola. And so the poor fellow is going around, as an errand boy, knocking on doors everywhere to convince the fools that the MPLA people are men of means and that we should drop Savimbi and UNITA. What a blow! What is good is that virtually nobody is parrying the blow. What is funny is that it seems that Chipenda still has the status of a "political exilee"! If this is so, just as he was unable formerly to do politics against Luanda, now he cannot do any politicking in favor of Luanda! Or isn't this the case, gentlemen of the government? But this affair of Chipenda's "shift" is not so surprising for him if you recall that he used to be a soccer player and that this is still the season of transfers and "bonuses." [Text] [Article by Bernarda A. Seca] [Lisbon O DIABO in Portuguese 12 Aug 86 p 6] 9805/12859

GOVERNMENT OPPOSES SAVIMBI BOOK--Perhaps a meeting between Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi, that would open the way for a negotiated settlement to the Angola problem and a reconciliation for the people of that young country, is not as far off as many people seem to think. Ten years of war have already more than proven that such a long, bloody conflict will never find a solution based on weapons and hate. Despite the obviousness of this fact, it seems that many people still do not understand this, and the Angolan Embassy in Lisbon certainly does not. This is evident from the pressure exerted by the embassy to prevent publication of Savimbi's book, "Por un futuro melhor" ["Towards a Better Future"], recently published by Nova Nordica. All it was able to do, however, was to transfer at the last minute the place where the book was to be introduced. The Sheraton, threatened with losing the business of the crews of the Angolan and Mozambican airlines, cancelled its commitment to host the session for presenting the book the night before. It was held at Novotel instead, and was attended by over 200 guests. Fortunately, in Portugal today nobody can prohibit publication of a book by Savimbi, or Eduardo dos Santos, or anyone, and any efforts in that direction would be fruitless, if they did not bear the seeds of radicalization and thus a rupture of peace with more days of suffering and death. "Por un futuro melhor" was initially published in 10,000 copies, which have been distributed to bookstores throughout the country, and will also be published in English, French and Spanish. [Text] [Lisbon O TEMPO in Portuguese 8 Aug 86 p 32] 9805/12859

MINISTER INVESTIGATES PETROLEUM DISTRIBUTION--The Angolan vice-minister of petroleum has been in Benguela since the day before yesterday in meetings with the local authorities to analyze the problem of distribution of petroleum and its derivatives in the central zone and in the south. Desiderio Costa said on arrival that rational and efficient distribution of oil and its products throughout the country was of great concern to the party and the government, emphasizing that "oil is one of the main supports of our economic and social development." At Benguela's 17 September Airport the vice-minister of petroleum was welcomed by the assistant commissar for production of the province, Alexandrino Silva, and others responsible for provincial production. During his stay in Benguela, Desiderio Costa will visit the SONANGOL installations, as well as other sectors connected with petroleum, and will meet with provincial management personnel. [Excerpt] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 6 Aug 86 p 3] 12857/12859

NEW CONSTRUCTION DIRECTORATE--A Defense and Security Council decree signed by the president of the republic, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, has created a Provincial Directorate of Construction and Housing as part of the Luanda-Norte Provincial Commisariat. The Council of Defense and Security issued Decree 13/86 because of problems in housing construction in that province that have been the subject of much discussion. The decree makes the new directorate responsible for the management, orientation, and control throughout the province for all economic and social activities in the construction and housing sector. The creation of the directorate does away with the Provincial Delegation of Housing and the Engineering Nucleus of Luanda-Norte, and all of the personnel, installations, equipment, and materials of those two entities will become part of the new directorate according to the decree. The creation of the directorate in Luanda-Norte complies with the State Local Entities Law which governs the establishment of provincial directorates in response to conditions prevailing in the province, and when circumstances justify this organizational form for the management, orientation, and control of economic and social activities. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 2 Aug 86 p 1] 12857/12859

CSO: 3442/302

## MENGISTU ON CONSTITUTION, RESETTLEMENT, INSURGENTS

Kampala NEW VISION in English 29 Aug 86 p 4

[Text]

At the recent Organisation of African Unity (OAU) summit in Addis Ababa, journalist James Namakajo was granted an interview by Ethiopian leader Lt Col Mengistu Haile Mariam. Following are excerpts from the interview:

**Q:** In June this year you submitted for public discussion a draft constitution. How have the people received this document?

**A:** The constitution is meant to offer a legal guarantee for the enjoyment of the rights and gains which the people through their struggle have achieved. The constitutional Drafting Commission had the representation of all the major sectors of society.

Considerable preparations had to be done in order to provide and to create favourable condition for the people to have a full scale and uninhabited discussion.

First of all, we printed two million copies of the draft constitution for distribution. The Draft constitution was printed in fifteen Ethiopian languages - that covers more than 90 percent of the people.

We set up 25000 fora on which the people could discuss freely. We assembled a large number of revolutionary cadre and gave them the appropriate orientation to lead the discussions.

Numerous and enriching suggestions were put forth by the masses. The Ethiopia citizens over the age of eighteen in their entirety partici-

participated in these discussions.

The discussions were conducted openly in public and those who had the opportunity to see this by themselves naturally can bear witness to what has been done.

Of course, there is no point in going into details here as to what the people have said and what questions have been raised but the comments have been given and the idea is to collect all the comments and integrate them where relevant into the draft constitution. When the constitution takes its final and definitive shape it will again be submitted to the people for their decision.

*Are the general masses really competent enough to comprehend a document as complex and make suggestions for its improvement?*

I did not want to comment as to what the reaction of the people had been towards the proposed constitution but I thought that it was better to see what the future would be. The impression we have been able to gather from these discussions is that our people are highly mobilised and politically advanced. It has given to us a clear indication as to the level of political consciousness and the extent of the political culture Ethiopians have attained

ed in the last twelve years.

*Western countries and the Western press have been very critical of the way your government handled the drought crisis and the subsequent settlement and villagisation programmes. How do you defend your policies?*

Our party took immediate action to face the disaster that hit the country. One thing which contributed to the effectiveness of our activity was the existence of the organisation of Ethiopian People, a relief agency, which actually tried to provide relief and rehabilitation to the affected. Through this agents and also the various state and party organs the first effort was made.

This effort actually consisted of identifying clearly the extent of the calamity, of the type and the nature of problem. It was large scale devastation which we had to suffer in Ethiopia. The primary task was evidently to make the Ethiopian people and the world at large aware of the situation.

First of all we had to mobilise the local resources - manpower and material, plus the external resources in the form of assistance and then grading this in a two phase programme - long term and short term programme.

The short term programme consisted essentially of relief supplies and this is where foreign agencies mainly concentrated their invaluable effort.

Frankly speaking, there are countries that did nothing on their own in the face of drought disaster. These countries were massively assisted by the Western countries to get over the drought disaster. As a result of this support, none of these countries has given a serious and a critical look at this problem and how to deal with it may it re-occur.

Of course there is no desire on the part of the western countries and to see any African country solve its problems with its own resources and by its own decisions and capability. They expect us to face all these calamities quite passively and whenever they happen again, to stretch out our hands and beg again.

Such action we feel has its own moral and political consequences. Our ability to cope with these problems emanates from our revolutionary organisation and from our revolutionary preparedness.

*Under MacNamara, the World Bank had suggested to African countries the desirability of moving the scattered populations to areas which were better endowed by nature and to concentrate them in accessible areas where amenities (water, health care, education) could be made available to them. But your villagization programme aimed at providing essential welfare to the peasants seems to be opposed by the same circles. Why is that the case?*

They don't have a positive attitude towards the Socialist revolution that is going on in our country, and the reconstruction effort that is being made in this country. On the whole, they have no good disposition toward us.

Obviously, they don't want us to pursue objectives of social construction and development, rather what they wish for us is to get down in military activities and social-economic crisis.

The Ethiopian people demonstrated their resourcefulness and they talked this problem over with effectiveness. Especially when they come with a long term formula which will definitely do away with this drought and natural calamity.

We have formulated policies of correct population distribution in the country.

Our enemies know that this would in the long run contribute to the strengthening of the revolution.

Naturally, they are very apprehensive of such development and they don't want to see it succeed. This is clearly reflected in the journalistic endeavours of the bogus press and in the antics of the external enemies of the revolution and the remnants of the local middle classes.

But we will not change our methods. The effort we have made have already begun to pay off as evidenced by the fact that the very people who have been the objects of this programme have become the beneficiaries of these endeavours.

*It is said that your re-settlement programme has been harsh and your officials have in some instances imposed forced re-settlement. Was this necessary?*

The most outstanding thing which has surprised us most is that given the fact that the world we see now - the technological advancement, the civilisation and culture - are the results of population movements from one part of the world to the other. I don't understand why the phenomenon on our country, whereby people were re-allocated from one part of the country to the other should figure as something strange, while Australia and The United States are the products of popular people's migration and provide good examples in human history.

Our situation is however a simpler and slightly different. It is a movement of people of our country from one part of their country to the other, from one village to the other. If we had to leave these people the way they were and didn't re-allocate them elsewhere, could there have been any country or donor resourceful enough to permanently provide food and feed these people indefinitely without themselves being involved in any productive activity?

In most cases this assistance was not forthcoming and if we left them there, evidently they would all have perished.

Our enemies understood the correctness and the eminent human motivation inherent in

this project that goes beyond solving the immediate problem. They are apprehensive of the strength Ethiopia will derive from this project. They are nervous about the exemplary nature of this project and the possibility that other African countries may emulate it.

*You have had a crisis of national integration, of keeping the country together as one national entity.*

*Eritrea threatening to break away, and all was not well in other parts of the north. Would you say that this situation is under control?*

When we launched the revolution imperialism did not want to see its interests undermined in the Horn of Africa and it did not want to see anything which would appear, in the long run, to be jeopardising its influence. At the same time, it was not in its interest to see the counter-revolutionary forces against the Ethiopian revolution budge or concede defeat.

Handsome offers were given by our enemies to the local reactionaries: the feudal elements, counter-revolutionary elements and anarchist groups all made a joint effort against the revolution at that time.

The enemy made good use of this and they fanned, narrow nationalists feelings and chauvinism. They fanned religious sentiments and fanned the psychological feelings of the people and they lined up all these groups of reactionaries – the real class enemies of the revolution.

It was tantamount to a full scale civil war in Ethiopia which was unrealised by the world. Actually it was the struggle against these forces, that really constituted the shouldering of the civil war in Ethiopia.

This serious internal situation of turmoil actually en-

couraged external forces (Somalia) to take advantage of the situation and launch an aggression on Ethiopia with the view to realise their long – cherished objectives.

*Since the overthrow of the monarchy in Ethiopia what do you see as the most significant landmarks of this historical period?*

On the whole the lives of the people of Ethiopia, both in the urban and rural areas at that time were entirely at the mercy of the emperor, the aristocrats and the nobility. It was a life of total oppression and suppression.

The main achievements of the revolution was to completely do away with the situation of injustice that prevailed in the country. We are at the threshold of completely consolidating the power of the state and also the formation of the Peoples Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (PRE).

*What aspects of the Ethiopian revolution do you consider to have been the most challenging, for you and for your colleagues in the leadership?*

The most challenging task was to free our country which had been for centuries under monarchical rule. Next to the overthrow of the feudal order, one step which has been taken by the revolution was the nationalisation of the land.

The land reform programme has been introduced to hand over the land to the real owners – the people. This was indeed the rock bottom on which our national democratic rights revolution rested, on which people enjoyed their democratic rights.

Inevitably this has aroused the anger of the few who stood to lose land. The former land owners were disgruntled and they set out to challenge the revolution.

/9274

CSO: 3400/24

## BRIEFS

**BAHR DAR AIRPORT OPENS**--The first modern international airport to be built by Ethiopian professionals situated at Bahr Dar (capital of Gojam region, western Ethiopia) was opened by Mengistu Haile Mariam on June 18th. An Ethiopian Airlines Boeing-727 landed at Bahr Dar town carrying the Secretary General of the WPE Central Committee, PMAC Chairman and C-in-C of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, Mengistu Haile Marian. It is thought that this international airport will contribute to the social and economic development of the whole country and will promote tourism in Bahr Dar town, which is highly valued by visitors for its historical past and its beauty, its ancient monasteries and its location near the source of the great Blue Nile river. The airport will also play a major part in the development of Gojam and Gondar regions by transporting their industrial products. In a speech, the Deputy Minister of Construction and Communications, Aseged Wolde Amanuel, explained that the airport has a runway which is 3,120 m long and is 60 m wide. He added that it has so far cost 46.8 million birr. [Paris AFRICA DEFENSE JOURNAL in English Aug 86 p 27]

## BRIEFS

**KAOLIN DEPOSIT FOUND**--Kaolin, an important industrial substance in the manufacture of cement has been discovered in substantial quantities at Ahamansu in the Jasikan District of the Volta Region. Traces of the substance have therefore attracted technical experts at the CIMAO cement project in the Republic of Togo to the site. This was disclosed by Nana Odumgya Amponsah II, Omanhene of Ahamansu Traditional Area. Later during an inspection tour of the site our reporter was shown a whitish substance lining the surface of the soil in the area. He therefore fetched a sample of the substance for onward scientific testing. At the Geological Survey Department in Accra, Mr G. O. Kesse the Director confirmed positively that the substance was Kaolin. The substance is also found in large deposits at Cape Coast and Saltpond thus forming the raw material base for the Saltpond Ceramic Works. [Excerpts]  
[By Tim Dزامboe] [Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 4 Sep 86 p 1]  
/9274

CSO: 3400/3a

## NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST ALLIANCE BETWEEN REGIONAL REBEL GROUPS

Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 30 Aug 86 p 2

[Text]

Claims that the rebel Mozambique Resistance Movement, Renamo, is being given substantial military aid by South African sources, and that the African National Congress is again using Mozambique as a base for attacks on South Africa are threatening what is left of the Nkomati accord, signed by the two countries two years ago.

The latest upsets have occurred as a new alliance is being created between the southern African rebel movements - Renamo in Mozambique, the openly South-African backed UNITA in Angola, and the ZANU group of the exiled Reverend Ndabiningi Sithole in Zimbabwe.

Though the forces comprising this "anti-Communist" association are scattered over a considerable area, and ZANU is not highly regarded, the alliance has the potential for raising the level of armed conflict in the region. The alliance has close links with America. It is reported to have been inspired by the right-wing U.S. Heritage Foundation to take a role fighting Communism in southern Africa. The Foundation has links with the White House and President Ronald Reagan, although the U.S. administration denies any involvement in the alliance. The United States is involved with UNITA and is supplying it with arms.

The reports of South African aid for Renamo, which are denied by Pretoria, come from Maputo and Lisbon, and are backed by Western intelligence sources. A Mozambican information official said his government had proof of renewed flights from South Africa to landing strips in the Mozambican bush, where "tons" of arms and ammunition had been handed to Renamo in the last three weeks. South Africa is also accused of using border camps containing Mozambican refugees as recruiting centres for Renamo.

There are conflicting views in South Africa about the source of the Renamo supplies. The deputy minister of foreign affairs, Ron Miller, claims that there is no need for South African supplies, as Renamo has sufficient stocks of its own and obtains equipment from Portuguese-speaking ex-Mozambicans and from the Middle East. Sources close to the South African military, however, claim that Renamo gets arms and other supplies by plundering Mozambican military supply columns.

The recent escalation of the Mozambican civil war is linked with sanctions moves against South Africa. Renamo has been focussing on the

Beira corridor providing road, rail and fuel pipeline links between Zambia and Zimbabwe and the harbour of Beira. The strategic corridor would be vital if Pretoria, hit by sanctions, should squeeze their import and export routes via South Africa. Indeed, the frontline states have been working for several months on plans to tackle such a scenario.

Mr. Miller maintains that the accord is operating at the same level as before, despite the disbanding of the joint security commission by Mozambique's President Samora Machel, ANC's presence in Maputo and the fact that the agreement had realised only part of its potential.

*I.O.N.- South Africa also denies involvement in the southern Africa alliance, but the country's military, closely connected with UNITA and Renamo, would need little urging to become embroiled in an anti-Communist "holy war," and it would not be the first time that the Pentagon would give covert encouragement to such an adventure. There have been at least five Renamo attacks on the oil pipeline in the last month, and attacks on the road and rail links are becoming more frequent. There have been frequent clashes between Renamo rebels and Zimbabwean and Mozambican government troops in the area. The last time the accord came under pressure was when Mozambican government forces overran the main Renamo base at Gorongosa and discovered the so-called "Vaz diaries" -- the reports of assistants to Renamo leader Afonso Dlakhamu. These claimed that the South African military had continued to contact Renamo after the signing of the accord. Recently, Joaquim Vaz was seen in Renamo's office at Durban, which opened last June.*

/9274

CSO: 3400/14

NEW COOPERATIVE SUPERVISORY COMMISSION CREATED IN GAZA

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Bento Niquice]

[Text] A new structure to supervise the operations of cooperative trade was set up a few days ago in the city of Xai-Xai, capital of Gaza Province. Called the Consumer Cooperatives Commission, the new agency will replace the inter-cooperatives. Until its official opening scheduled for next September, new commissions to promote this Socialist-type trade have been created.

This decision was announced at a meeting organized by the Xai-Xai Party Committee Secretary for the Economy, Ernesto Jaime Maluleque, which was also attended by several heads of cooperative trade in the province, among other officials.

Also participating were the presidents of the 12 consumer cooperatives in Xai-Xai and representatives of Democratic Organizations of the People and Professional Partners, banks and the Provincial Agriculture Directorate. Secretaries of communal districts in the city of Xai-Xai were also invited.

Anselmo Siteo, head of the Cooperative Trade Department in the Provincial Trade Directorate, explained on the occasion that the new structure in Xai-Xai was the first step of a project that would soon be extended to cover all the districts in Gaza, to adjust this type of trade to a new stage in its development.

"We set up inter-cooperatives as a first step in structuring cooperative trade in our province," Anselmo Siteo said, adding that the consumer cooperatives had now reached a stage in their development where a new structure was needed to handle the growing trade.

Work Commissions Created

At the same meeting it was decided to set up commissions of liquidation and establishment, which will handle all the preliminary work until the inter-cooperatives are completely phased out, probably by the end of next September.

It was also announced that these commissions will work together to establish the "Conference of Commissioners," the highest organ of the new structure. These commissions were also charged with setting up the Cooperative Council and Management and Control Commissions, as executive organs for the new directing structure.

Besides working jointly, the new commissions will also perform some separate tasks. The Establishment Commission is in charge of handling all organizational matters related to setting up the new structure, and will conduct an exhaustive survey of the work performed by the inter-cooperatives since their creation in 1980.

The Liquidation Commission in turn, which began operations the day after it was created, will inventory and liquidate all the financial and material assets of the former inter-cooperative commission and decide what to do with the remaining assets at the end of the survey.

The move to set up a new structure to direct cooperative trade in Gaza Province is regarded as an important step, particularly in light of the fact that at recent meetings, the Gaza government has discussed the need to give priority to supplying consumer cooperatives with essential commodities.

One of the main activities to be developed by the new structure is to train officers to manage the consumer cooperatives, and it is felt that this will alleviate the financial crisis affecting several of the consumer cooperatives, since part of the crisis is attributed to poor management resulting from a shortage of staff with experience in this area.

9805

CSO: 3442/290

## TECHNICIANS ATTEND PROFESSIONAL TRAINING CENTER

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] Beginning 18 July two courses for draftsmen and mechanics, and industrial designers, fitters and electricians have been held at the Professional Training Center on Avenida Angola in Maputo to train skilled workers. A source told our reporter that the Center's administration hoped to put to good use the technical knowledge of the workers now in training, who were marginalized by the colonial system, and make them dynamic, active technicians serving our economy.

Training technicians for the various sectors of the national economy has always been one of the major concerns of the Party and government structures. They have joined efforts and, despite current difficulties, are sponsoring technical and professional courses on a national level for the main purpose of imparting the technical know-how needed by Mozambican workers so that they can do their jobs better and improve production.

Because it was not in line with their interests, Portuguese colonialists never made it possible for the large masses of Mozambican workers to improve the practical knowledge they acquired by receiving scientific training or education in the various professional branches of the economy.

Up to the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, there was a capitalist system in Mozambique that just took advantage of cheap labor, although a short time before the Portuguese were forced out, they tried to cover up this fact by quickly organizing small professional training courses which, however, did not serve the country's true interests.

## How the Center Started

Based on the principle that without skilled and politically trained workers, it is impossible to conduct successfully the difficult struggle to rebuild the country and construct a Socialist society, in 1979 the production councils that were formed after independence began contacts with the Syndical Institute for Cooperation with Developing Countries of the Italian Confederation of Workers (ISCOS), that culminated in the reorganization of the Professional Training Center of the State Secretariat of Light Industry and Food.

"This Center is the result of a cooperative agreement signed between the Mozambican Workers Organization [OTM] and the Italian Syndicates to train Mozambican workers," Juliao Jonas, director of the Professional Training Center, told us.

According to what he said, this new Center is part of the second phase of cooperation between the OTM and ISCOS. The first phase, completed in 1983, involved installation of a full set of equipment for courses in welding and electricity at the Professional Training Center of the State Secretariat for Light Industry and Food.

The Center's director explained: "After the equipment for the welding and electrician courses was installed, the Mozambicans felt a need to expand the SEILA Center, and the Italian Syndicates assisted us by providing all the equipment that made this new Center possible."

According to information given to us, this new Professional Training Center has everything necessary to operate effectively as a modern training center.

"This Center has up-to-date equipment capable of providing advanced and solid training to Mozambican workers. The training given through the courses will be truly professional, because we have the necessary equipment at our disposal," one of the technicians who teaches at the Center told our reporter.

#### Teaching Staff

The new Professional Training Center on Avenida de Angola currently has 34 students, 19 of whom are attending the course for electricians and industrial fitters, with the rest training to be draftsmen, mechanics and industrial designers.

Five instructors teach both courses. Four are Italian technicians who teach specialities, including technology, physics, design, applied mechanics, office practices, electrical measures, schematic design, electrotechnology and mathematics. The single Mozambican instructor teaches only subjects that are part of general education, namely Portuguese, history and geography.

"We are also concerned with providing a solid education for our students because, at the end of the courses, we will select some of the best to assure continuity and take over the work of the Italian technicians when they return to their country," Director Juliao Jonas said. He added that they expect to attain the objective of selecting several of the best students to later serve as monitors, since the Center has the means to do this.

Meanwhile, while talking to one of the Italian instructors, our reporter learned that all the Italian teachers are prepared to do everything they can to ensure that the Professional Training Center will contribute effectively to developing technicians in Mozambique.

## BEIRA'S RICE MARKETING CAMPAIGN ENCOUNTERS OBSTACLES

Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Aug 86 p 2

[Text] The 1986-87 agricultural marketing campaign begun in the city of Beira last 3 June may be jeopardized if priority is not given to providing trading incentives, agencies involved in the campaign informed our reporter. Up to now, only 30 tons of rice and 400 kilos of maize have been sold.

Rodrigues Amadeu of AGRICOM enterprise said that "this situation is really unfortunate, since producers around Beira have harvested large quantities of rice, and AGRICOM is not going to be able to market it all."

What will happen to the surplus? Some of the producers are trying to trade the rice with certain cooperatives and private stores in exchange for articles these establishments have, such as soap, sugar, and enamel cups, dishes and pans.

However, because these establishments do not have enough of these articles, the farmers are channeling their products, and specifically rice, through the black market, according to reports by some citizens contacted by our reporters.

According to these same sources, many farmers who are unable to find a legal market for their surplus for the reasons already given, or because the goods available for barter do not interest them since they already obtained them last year, sell the rice unhulled for 1,500 meticals per 20-liter container.

### Hulling Factory Intervenes

This year, however, the rice factory will help market the rice after it is processed. This production unit located in the Manga area outside the city of Beira was unable to hull the marketed rice last year for financial reasons. "At present, the factory has financing to enable it to operate effectively and purchase the rice directly from those marketing it," Rodrigues Amadeu indicated. According to him, the 70 tons of rice sold last year, which are stored at the Supply Enterprise in Beira, are already at the factory to be hulled, and part of it has already been distributed to consumer cooperatives.

## BRIEFS

STATE ADMINISTRATION COURSE ENDS--The second course to train officials for future administrative posts as presidents of community executive councils and district directors for support and control was recently completed at the Provincial State Administration School in Agostinho Neto Communal Settlement in Inhambane. The course, which lasted 45 days, had 32 participants who were instructed on the Party's role in leading the government and society, the origin of the State, the defense of Socialist legality, and operations of the State's directive organs including agriculture and fisheries, as well as ancillary subjects related to collecting government revenue and operations of labor unions in Mozambique. Addressing the participants, Inhambane Provincial Governor Jose Pascoal Zandamela spoke of the importance of training officials for the State apparatus, to work for the national economy. Jose Pascoal Zandamela also said that the best standard for truth lies in practice, or in other words knowledge acquired in the course will be valuable only if it is put to use at a grass-roots level. In order for the Provincial State Administration School to be self-sufficient in food, the Inhambane governor defended the need for involvement in productive activities, on both barren land and farmed plots. To support the second general elections, the participants in the course contributed over 3,500 meticals. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 5 Aug 86 p 2] 9805

CORUMANA DAM WORKS CONTINUES--An operation to temporarily divert the bed of the Sabie River in Moamba district, Maputo Province, began last 2 July. According to Altenor Pereira, director of the Water Works Management Unit, the purpose of the operation is to build an earthen dam in order to continue work on the project to build Corumana Dam throughout the rainy season, which is drawing near. The bypass consists of two deep discharge channels built in the rocky slope of the right bank of the Sabie River, shaped like a horseshoe in cross-section and measuring 7.5 meters in diameter at the circular base. According to the director of the Water Works Management Unit, with the two channels operating, 1,200 cubic meters per second can be drained off. "Before the next rainy season, the dam will be completed up to a point that will permit work on building the Corumana Dam to continue in perfect safety," Altenor Pereira explained. The Corumana Dam is being built in the Sabie River, the main tributary of the Nkomati River, about 140 kilometers from the city of Maputo. This project is primarily designed to regularize the flow of the Sabie for use either in irrigating land immediately downstream from the dam

in the Sabie valley or in increasing the flow for irrigating land in the middle and lower Nkomati during the dry season. The Corumana Dam will also make it possible to reduce considerably the flood points in that river, downstream from the dam. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 86 p 1] 9805

SOVIET JOURNALIST DONATION--On Wednesday morning the Union of Soviet Journalists offered to its Mozambican counterpart five typewriters and an equal number of copy machiens during a ceremony held at the facilities of the National Organization of Journalists (ONJ) in the capital. The donation, presented by the representative of the Union of Soviet Journalists to the 2nd ONJ Conference, was accepted by Botelho Moniz, provincial director of information in Sofala and DIARIO DE MOZAMBIQUE. In a message read out yesterday afternoon by the representative of the Union of Soviet Journalists to the 2nd Conference of the National Organization of Journalists, the Soviet organization of information professionals stated its willingness to support our country in training journalists. The photograph shows the UJS representative presenting the typewriters and copy machines to the ONJ, with Botelho Moniz at the right accepting the donation. [Text] [Maputo NOTICIAS in Portuguese 17 Jul 86 p 1] 9805

CSO: 3442/290

# ATTITUDE OF NATIONAL PARTY CRITICIZED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 28 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "No Funny Games"]

[Text] The reaction of the Southwest NP (through its newspaper under new editorship) to the DTA executive committee's resolution to stand by its Okahandja declaration of earlier this year is simply dumbfounding. Is it wrong for a political organization to stand by a previous resolution? Mr Kosie Pretorius is the very man who quotes the resolutions of congress, executive and emergency committees to show how his party does not deviate from previous resolutions! (But we must admit: Mr Pretorius does not quote resolutions on Southwest as a fifth province of South Africa and on territorial apartheid. That resolution has simply evaporated; it's only the useful ones that count). No "honorable talking partners" would want to force any "population group" into an arrangement where it did not want to be; that is what the little Nationalist newspaper writes. But then his party has indeed taken part in a swindle from the start of the VPK on; for parties assembled there, not population groups. And, moreover, Swanu and Swapo-D did not want to hear anything about "group rights." The Southwest NP must also have known that, shouldn't it have? (But the Southwest NP sits and smiles at those two parties. It's just friendliness and smiles; just smiles all the way when the "liberalist," Dirk Mudge, and his "liberal" associates in the DTA state the cause of population groups and do not want to accede to the arbitrary change of constitutions by people who do not have any support. And the NP men can smile! Just see how it looks in the National Assembly. "They stink to please" [tr's quotes; in English in original]. But the new editor of DIE SUIDWESTER will not know that. No, his men fight, they "stipulate." Oh, they perform miracles).

The DTA would no longer like to conduct negotiations within the framework of the Government of National Unity. It would [like to] create an atmosphere outside the government. What then is the Southwest NP dealing with when it enters into talks with Mr Werner Neef? What is it dealing with when it issues a statement on behalf of the "Conference of Representative Authorities, when there was only an opposition member present from Kavango, and only an independent member from Caprivi and no member from the DTA Representative Authorities? Was it dealing within the "framework of the Government of National Unity?" Something is going crazy; really crazy.

Would the DTA now like to return to resolution 435? The Nationalist newspaper asks this by implication. May we ask: Have the RSA, the USA and the Western powers then totally rejected Resolution 435? The newspaper asks in its childlike simplicity: Does the DTA now want to negotiate with the government of the RSA, which, in turn, "has categorically undertaken" not to negotiate with separate parties? May we ask: Is nobody talking with Peter Kalangula? Is nobody talking with Mr Garoeb? Were there no talks on the Cape Verde Islands? Does the DTA reject the Cape Verde Agreement? DIE SUIDWESTER wants to know. May we ask: Was not the essence of the "Cape Agreement" that the transitional government would take over the national government and draft a constitution for the country in the shortest possible time?

If the "Cape Agreement" should be tantamount to the amendment of AG 8 and the preservation of R101, then the DTA definitely does not plan to stick to that "agreement." The DTA has from the beginning gone up in the government with the supposition that all would realize that there is no time to waste. The DTA does not see any chance for a "gepoer-poer" [conference?]. It has gone out of its way to give others the chance to make a contribution. They won't play their own funny little game on the back of the DTA. That's what it's about, over and done with.

13084

3401/181

SWAPO REPORTEDLY ENGAGED IN PURGE OF OWN RANKS

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 29 Jul 86 pp 1,5

[Article by Chief Editorial Staff: "Terrorists Want to Murder Own People"]

[Text] Swapo is engaging in an intensive purging process in its own ranks in order to counteract disloyalty, and violent action against some of its internal leaders is also being planned. Plans to intensify violence outside the operational area in SWA/Namibia are being delayed at this stage only because the Swapo leaders, and especially PLAN (the military wing of Swapo) are afraid of leaks in the organization. This, as well as other information from Swapo's inside circles, came into DIE REPUBLIKEIN's possession yesterday.

The names of Mr Danny Tjongarero and members of the so-called Elders' Committee appear on the list of "puppets" who cannot be trusted and who must be eliminated. The purging process in Swapo has already led to dozens of people landing in punitive camps in Angola and Zambia. According to information, the Swapo leadership body is now satisfied that Swapo's external wings have been "purged." However, there is still great concern in Swapo about the leaks within Swapo's internal wings. The activation of a "purged" internal wing and greater cooperation between PLAN and Swapo-internal also form part of that organization's latest offensive.

According to the information, Swapo members have also been instructed to infiltrate all organizations in SWA/Namibia. According to the sources, an organization like NANSCO (Namibia National Students Organization) is still regarded as hostile-minded and must also be infiltrated. Intensified violence in the central and southern parts of SWA/Namibia also forms part of the new offensive, as well as the political activation of the masses. The perpetration of sabotage and other violence has been delayed up to now because the Swapo leaders fear leaks among Swapo-internal.

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3401/181

# DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DTA, SWAPO OBJECTIVES VIEWED

Windhoek DIE REPUBLIKEIN in Afrikaans 29 Jul 86 p 4

[Editorial: "No, Niko!"]

A difference of approach between Swapo and the DTA stood in glaring contrast when Niko Bessinger appeared before a Swapo hearing in Katutura on Sunday as co-secretary of foreign affairs. Bessinger says: The price of freedom can be high and freedom sometimes demands sacrifices of extremes. People must remember that they will not necessarily taste freedom themselves, but everyone has a duty to concern themselves with deliverance for their children.

First, the price of freedom.

This is a rather hollow cry coming from Bessinger. The "price" and the "sacrifices" that he calls for point most clearly to the armed struggle which Swapo is conducting in the north. But he himself sits as a professional man in the safety that the security forces offer him in Windhoek. It's easy to ask another man for his life when one's own is not jeopardized. But he asks for this "price" and these "sacrifices" against the background of a lost struggle. The intensity of Swapo's military onslaught has diminished in the presence of their losses. They are losing the war, not winning it. That is precisely [why Swapo] has made it assume the form of a hit-and-run war where ordinary civilians are the target. In short, the people who should be "liberated" are being shot dead.

In contrast, the DTA position is that this "freedom" is available and that it can be attained along a peaceful route. But South Africa will truly not grant it while anarchist forces with Russian AK 47's are prowling around the bush and shooting peace-loving people to death. That blocks freedom, does not offer it. That is the very basis of the outward movement which the Alliance has always advocated. That is what made the Alliance share in the Lusaka deliberation, but there it and other parties within the Multiparty Conference found Swapo to be an extremely unwilling talking partner--doesn't want to talk, but shoot. This conviction that independence can be extricated in a negotiation policy also forms the basis of decisions at the past Executive Committee Meeting of the DTA. And if the DTA cannot get the assistance of other parties in this connection, it is willing to undertake the trip to independence and freedom alone. That is exactly what is included in the talk

which is sought with the secretary general of the UNO, [as well as what is included in] the contact which must be renewed with the Western Contact Group and newly contemplated direct liaison with South Africa. The circle in which not only the internal parties, but also Swapo, move must be broken; for, although the armed fighting in the north has now lasted for 20 years, a Swapo takeover lies further in the distance than when it was started.

Secondly, Bessinger says people will perhaps not pluck the fruits of their sacrifices in their lifetime, but then their children can reap the harvest. The DTA differs with this in essence. Continually postponing a solution is nothing more than participating in the game of delay, for which SWA/Namibia has already acquired international notoriety. The DTA wants to move out NOW, undo the red tape around the diplomatic packages of the past and unravel the Gordian knot. When Swapo held a meeting under its own banner for the first time in five years, we thought that it would eventually have more than violence to offer the people of SWA/Namibia. It didn't. Will Swapo thus be able to take people amiss if they now spit it out of their mouths like lukewarm water?

13084  
3401/181

## PROBLEMS EXACERBATED BY FLIGHT OF CAPITAL, NEAR EAST POLITICS

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English 20 Aug 86 p 7

[Text]

President **Joseph Momoh** is trying to convince the public that he can act independently of those of ex-President **Siaka Stevens's** associates who still retain influence. Some of them are unpopular. Momoh is also facing formidable economic problems. Some leading businessmen, finding both the economic and political climate unfavourable, appear to be turning their attention away from Sierra Leone. Other companies are moving into the resulting commercial vacuum. Changing commercial alliances inevitably have political implications.

The tendency of businessmen to leave Sierra Leone is especially true of the important **Lebanese** community. Sierra Leone's best-known businessman, the Afro-Lebanese **Jamil Said Mohammed**, is giving up his interests in the *Government Gold and Diamond Office* and the *National Diamond Mining Company*. He also appears to be having second thoughts about planned projects, such as the joint-venture rice scheme with the **Chinese** company *Agricon*, which has not yet commenced operation. It was due to start in 1986 (AC Vol. 26, No. 23).

Jamil is also reported to have been the subject of an extraordinary speech in parliament. In late July, **James Musa Gendemeh**, the member of parliament for Kenema north-east, publicly called on the government to investigate Jamil's business activities. Until recently such a public attack on a man of Jamil's standing would have been unthinkable.

Perhaps partly in response to the flight of Lebanese and Afro-Lebanese capital and business acumen, the government has embarked on a number of rapidly-conceived commercial deals to keep the economy afloat. In one case, the *BRN* company of Fort Worth, Texas, contracted to supply Sierra Leone with a cargo of **Nigerian** crude oil at \$18 a barrel, at a time when the world oil price was falling. It is notable that the University of Sierra Leone is acting as agent. In fact, the university's constitution forbids such a practice. Evidently the strength of

academic representation in government has enabled the financially hard-pressed university to explore unconventional means of funding.

One of the relative newcomers to Sierra Leone which thinks that the country's long-term future is rosy is *LIAT*. This company, which is based in Frankfurt, has assumed a prominent position in Freetown business circles. Its interests include transport, low-cost housing projects, agriculture and civil engineering. Its biggest planned project is the construction of an eight-kilometre bridge across the estuary from Lungi to Freetown at the remarkably low cost of \$17-20 million.

*LIAT* is run mainly by Jewish **Russian** emigrés who, understandably, have connections with **Israel**. The company's managing director, the able and politically astute **Shaptai Kalmanovitch**, has gained the confidence of leading figures in Sierra Leone, including Momoh. *LIAT*'s Freetown representative is **Bill Davidson**, an **American** of Russian-Jewish extraction. *LIAT* has established an efficient commercial reputation elsewhere in developing countries, such as in the **South African** 'homeland' of Bophuthatswana.

It is not yet clear whether *LIAT*'s presence has precise political implications. However, since *LIAT* does appear to have good connections in Israel, the sensitive issue of re-establishing formal relations with the Israeli state might be raised in due course. For example, it was noticeable that **Ruth Dayan**, the wife of the late Israeli military hero General **Moshe Dayan**, attended Momoh's presidential inauguration. At the time, this did not seem significant, for **Nabih Berri**, the leader of the powerful Shi'ite *Amal* militia in Beirut, was also present.

The connection between Lebanon and Sierra

Leone results of course from the presence of a well-established Lebanese or Afro-Lebanese community in the country. While some Sierra Leone-based businessmen, such as **Tony Yazbeck** (AC Vol. 25, No. 24), are said to sympathise with the Christian *Phalange* in Lebanon, others are rather in favour of rival factions in that unhappy country. Jamil for example is said to have contributed funds regularly to *Amal*. **Nabih Berri** was actually born in Sierra Leone. To complicate matters, **Yasser Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization** (PLO) has recently re-established a representative office in Freetown following a meeting he had with Momoh.

In late July, minister of state **Daramy Rogers** was obliged to jump to safety from the window of his house when shots were fired into the room. The victim has made no suggestion that this was a politically-motivated attack. President Momoh alleged at a press conference that security guards of Jamil Said Mohammed were involved in the shooting incident. Two people of Middle Eastern origin have been expelled from Sierra Leone.

Though we have no information to suggest that *LIAT*'s interests are connected to those of the Israeli government, the latter is certainly keen to develop bilateral links with Sierra Leone, partly no doubt to gain a better understanding of the relations between Sierra Leone and Beirut. In the longer term, the Israelis, mindful of the commercial and political benefits of diplomatic relations, might offer Momoh's government security assistance, perhaps in the form of an Israeli-trained and managed presidential guard. In neighbouring **Liberia**, the Israelis provide a wide range of security requirements, including regular briefings by **Mossad**, the Israeli secret service (AC Vol. 27, No. 8). The politics of the Middle East have spilled into Sierra Leone.

/9274

CSO: 3400/3a

## NATIONAL CORPORATIONS OFFERED FOR SALE TO FRENCH BUSINESSES

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 24, 31 Jul, 7 Aug 86 pp 43-45

[Article by Vincent Nouzille]

[Text] It was a curious scene last 27 May, around a green table in the huge Assembly Hall of the Togolese People, right in the heart of Lome. The Togolese minister of national corporations, Koffi Djondo, surrounded by a constellation of his colleagues, sat facing a French delegation of business leaders led by Rene Lapautre, the president of the ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific countries associated with the EEC] committee of the National Council of French Employers (CNPFF).

"We wish to convert to the private sector some of the many national corporations that have not been successful. Come visit them. We are ready to sell them to you. Everything is open," explained Koffi Djondo, proud of his frank revelation of these basic facts, yet basically prudent withal. The questions of the French businessmen, partly diplomatic and partly based on self-interest, then began to burst forth. Each "dossier" opened up a "parley" which would then be pursued in a private meeting.

On paper, and if you listen to the speakers, the denationalization process is moving ahead in Togo. Here, as in other French-speaking African nations, the winds of economic liberalism are beginning to blow. Efforts at "African-style" industrialization under state control have floundered. The public corporations have very often come to grief. At times they are oversupplied with sophisticated materiel that is poorly adapted or in a state of disrepair; they are often frustrated by the lack of outlets, capital, management and competent personnel; and they are always fettered by the administrative bureaucracy and by corruption--if they are not accumulating all of these handicaps at once, while still continuing to encumber the national budget.

To supply a little life-giving oxygen, the chief international financial backers, with the IMF and the World Bank at their head, advise those nations that suffer from an anemic economy today to play the game of going private, of moving toward the private sector, both to energize the life-force of small and medium-sized industries on the long term and to stanch the hemorrhage of the public subsidies to the public sector on the short term.

"Four or five years from now, the privatized corporations must be making a profit. The state must no longer be financing them," stresses the Togolese minister in charge of restructuring the public sector of this tiny country of 3 million inhabitants now in the process of economic recovery. A difficult task indeed, even in Togo where pragmatism has always been the rule.

The state, in fact, has been managing 33 joint corporations. The denationalization or the release of capital to private investors, both foreign and domestic, involves a total of 24 enterprises. Four have already been turned over, under the form of rental-managership contracts, "an intermediary arrangement preceding acquisition pure and simple, which the foreign partners seem to prefer," according to one observer. That is the case with the SNS (steel works), taken over at the end of 1984 by the American group, Ibcon, and renamed the Togolese Iron Metallurgy Corporation. All the industrial installations are not being used by the American tenant, who is manufacturing concrete reinforcement rods and commercializing scrap iron. Since 1984 the French group, Gemag, for its part, has been managing Sotexma (agricultural equipment storehouse), but the experiment does not seem conclusive at the present time. In August 1985 the Shell Oil Company, under a rental-managership arrangement, resumed control of the STH (refinery and warehouse), a gleaming, unexploited behemoth. Only the activity of keeping up the supply of refined products is currently a going concern. Finally the Danish group, Emidan, took over Soprolait (dairy) which was renamed Fan Milk.

These beginnings appear timid in the eyes of the Togolese, who expect substantial returns from them in the form of jobs and value added [taxes].

"The agreement signed with Emidan provides for a minimum of two years to right the Soprolait ship. We do not believe in miracles. But it is clear that the nation needs technical and financial guarantees for the fresh starts being made by these corporations and requires the partners not to give us the impression of having swindled the Togolese by underpricing the rentals or acquisitions," specifies Koffi Djondo.

Eight other corporations are currently the object of cautious negotiations with foreign investors. Thus the two French groups, Schaeffer Textiles and Texunion, are interested in the Togotex plant and in the ITT printing establishment.

Certain Korean and American groups have also entered the lists. "The location of Lome is regionally important for the textile market," explains Francois Vri-nat, the president-director general of Schaeffer, which is already managing a number of industrial units in Ivory Coast, Benin, Niger and Congo. "We had been talking about ITT for several years. With the inauguration of its program of converting units to the private sector, the Togolese government wishes to turn over Togotex and ITT together. The new negotiation is in progress. We are relatively confident."

In the present case, the dossier includes a number of facets. First of all, certain factory installations are obsolete. The Togotex plant never really "converted." The evaluation of these corporations cannot therefore result simply from a strictly accountable audit. All the more so because the state puts forward the creativity of Togolese workers and considers itself ready to facili-

tate the authorization of reconstruction credits for the textile sector, even once it has become private. Next the market study seems to indicate a risky situation, given the fact that Togo dances so much to the tune of its unpredictable neighbor, Nigeria. Because of a particularly favorable rate of exchange with the naira (the Nigerian currency unit), Nigerian textile products are currently inundating Togo and the neighboring countries. The profitability of a Togolese plant oriented toward exports remains difficult to assess and predict, therefore. Has not one Gabonese textile plant just gone under, while two others are carrying on with great difficulty in Mali and Congo? Finally, the negotiation is political, since one of the "privatizable" units is located in the home country of the Togolese president, Eyadema. So....

Thus both the aboveboard and the undercover operations of each national corporation put up on the auction block become the object of official audits and off-the-record discussions.

The French Company for the Development of Textile Fibers (CFDT), already present in Sotoco (cotton), is looking closely into a possible takeover of Ioto (cotton oil and palm oil). Lyonnaise Navigation, through its subsidiary, PFG, is interested in Sotoma (marble works), as are some Norwegians. Also up for sale in the first stage of the process are ITP (plastics), Sodeto (detergents), Sototoles (galvanized iron), Sotcon (ready-made clothing) and Otodi (records).

Approximately another ten corporations will become private at a second stage. Koffi Djondo does not want to rush anything. "We have received many offers. Certain ones came from French business firms. But aside from the intentions displayed, the good climate of relations between France and Togo and our desire to unburden ourselves completely of the management of these corporations, we do not want to make any more mistakes. Privatization must be more than a word for Togo." The stakes go far beyond the vulnerable borders of this "peaceful African Switzerland," for, as one international banker stationed in Lome remarked: "If it doesn't work in Togo, where can it work?"

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CSO: 3419/300

QADHDHAFI, SANKARA VISIT, STATEMENTS DESCRIBED

Kampala THE CITIZEN in English 12 Sep 86 pp 1, 4, 5

[Article: Gaddafi: An Asset or Liability?"]

[Text] Time stood still as most Ugandans looked on in awe as over half a dozen planes descended on Entebbe International Airport and strange faced chaps took strategic positions completely ignoring the presence of NRA troops who were made to look like an extremely bad handwork of a toy made by an extremely careless child.

'Death to the Americans', thundered the strange faced fellows and amidst this refrain Colonel Muammar El. Gadhafi descended from his plane to be greeted by the Ugandan leader Yoweri Museveni.

The visit of the colonel and the other super son of Africa Capt Thomas Sankara was to continue showing this mysterious aura as long as it lasted or even before it ever began.

Ugandans first heard rumours of these visits when they say "workers of the Kampala City Council holting strange along the capital's roads and streets. Speculations continued throughout as to what was about to happen but later radio Uganda broke the news: Thomas Sankara and Muammar Gadhafi were coming to Uganda. Mostly out [of] curiosity people gathered in small groups if only to cast a glimpse on the sons of Africa said to be the most revolutionary. Meanwhile NRA soldiers and members of the police were lining up the entire vista from Parliament buildings in Kampala to the tarmac of the airport runways at Entebbe.

In the evening during a press conference President Yoweri Museveni confirmed that the two leaders were indeed coming. The same evening Thomas Sankara arrived but without the colonel.

In his initial meeting with the press Sankara praised himself, Jerry Rawling of Ghana, Muammar Gadhafi of Libya and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda as the revolutionary leaders who had defeated imperialism in Africa. Many African leaders before them, he said, had succumbed to external pressures and indeed danced to the tune of imperialism. The Burkina Faso leader did not seem to have been impressed by the revolutionism of such past leaders like Kwame

Nkrumah, Ben Bella, Gamel Nasser, Patric Lumumba; and of existing leaders like Kenneth Kaunda, Samora Mackel, Mengitsu Marriame, Santos, Babangida and Julius Nyerere (formerly of Tanzania).

On Saturday, Col Gadhafi flew in with an estimated 500 cheerers and security men. The cheerers immediately burst into chorus calling upon death to strike the Americans down. To many Ugandans the relevance of the refrain was not clear: was it addressed to the Ugandan leaders for their known ties with the USA or was it a routine Libyan refrain and part of their propaganda machinery against imperialist USA?

Later the Colonel while speaking said that the political situation in Libya, Burkina Faso and Uganda was nearing an ideal. He said such a situation is carried at first by destroying monarchism which he described as the autocratic despotic regimes that exploit citizens. The next stage is to destroy republicanism which is founded 'on self-aggrandisement' and to establish rules based on people's council as the repository of people's power. This, he said, is true democracy.

On later occasion Col Gadhafi characteristically lit his torch of Islamic fundamentalism by calling upon moslems to raise and spread Islam throughout the world. He said it is a duty of all moslems through various means and ways to take Islam to all corners of the world. In this respect he vigorously attacked the USA because he said it was its aim to eliminate Islam.

On his cooperation with Idi Amin he told the astounded Ugandans that he had given him support only in his initial state. He did this because he thought Amin was a revolutionary leader especially because he had thrown Israelis out of the country.

Later the colonel's entourage spent quite a bit of imperialist dollars purchasing goods manufactured in imperialist countries from Kampala shops. At the end of the day these seemed to have been the major highlights of the visit for nothing like a joint communique was issued. In fact some Ugandans still wonder at what the visit was all about for short of showing the colonels 'revolutionarism' which Ugandans still remember very well there was only one other point of vital importance.

In one of his speeches Gadhafi called upon the Ugandan authorities to close down both the British and American Embassies in Kampala. No comment on the issue was made by the Ugandan authorities and when everything is said and done the wisdom of such a comment would have been ill advised especially if prompted by the colonel.

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CSO: 3400/23

# BISHOP KIVENGERE PROTESTS QADHDHAFI REMARKS

Kampala THE TELECAST in English 15 Sep 86 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Bishop of Kigezi, the Rt Reverend Festo Kivengere has strongly reacted to the remarks made by the Libyan Head of State, Col Gaddafi, when he made a state visit to Uganda last week.

Bishop Kivengere argues that Col Gaddafi should not have used Uganda as a platform to attack other countries. He further says that Gaddafi should not have used the occasion to try to convert non-Muslims to Islam. Below is Bishop Kivengere's press release in full.

As a citizen of Uganda, I don't agree with any Head of State to use the privilege we give him or her, to attack other Heads of Government using our country as a platform. For instance I don't approve of any Head of

State calling other Heads of State names away from his own country because it would jeopardize the relationship between that country and the ones he attacks. One country's political enemies are not necessarily enemies to other countries. Uganda's political enemies are not necessarily Libya's.

Secondly, I do not believe it is an acceptable international policy for one leader of one country to accuse other countries from the country he is visiting. We expect that the visiting Head of State will respect our independence and therefore will not take it upon himself to be our spokesman.

In the same way we expect a visiting Head of State to respect

the institutions of the country he is visiting. And here I speak as a Christian leader in Uganda. I was very much disturbed to hear remarks our friend from Libya made to the Muslim leaders in Uganda.

Instead of encouraging the Muslim community to contribute positively to the construction of Uganda, he encouraged them to convert the non-Muslim to Islam, which is the normal attitude of any religious preacher in any place, but not the duty of a Head of State who came not as a Moslem preacher to Uganda.

And what makes it more serious to me is that he made the same statement publicly when he visited Amin. I would not have expected him to make the same attack on Christianity under the

present government. I am sure when our President visited Libya recently, if he had attempted to make the same statement in Libya, Muslims perhaps would have stoned him to death and they would have been right to react like that because that would not have been his duty.

The remarks against Christianity in Uganda in particular and in Africa in general consisted of such words as; the Church in Africa is colonising, Christianity is not the African faith and Christians are colonialists. To me these remarks are either very provocative or very hostile in their aim and I believe the latter is what they were aiming at.

If Christianity is identified with colonialism because missionaries who brought it came from European countries from which colonialists came, that to me is an exaggerated interpretation of history and very debatable indeed.

Now if we turn history on to Islam which is supposed to be African faith, then we have to admit that the missionaries who brought Islam in Africa came with the Koran in one hand and a chain for binding slaves in the other. Islam cannot deny the

fact that its missionaries were involved in slave trade.

However, if we dwell on digging up the bones of bad things in history the possibility of living in this world together will be nil. We in Uganda had our religious wars in the last century, we do not want any more of those wars here. In fact we have had too many wars because of bad politics and now live together in peace.

I see Moslems in my Church listening to the message of God's love. And when I am asked by Moslems to address them I do not hesitate to do so. This does not mean that I want them all converted when I speak to them; but when they are convinced that it is God's message and they convert; they are free to use their choice without pressure.


For instance, if a christian becomes a Muslim we respect his decision and we do not follow him to kill him, for to us Christians, killing a person because of his conviction is completely opposite to our faith. In fact any killing for us Christians is a curse and we do not believe it.

1. In concluding this statement, I am challenging the govern-

ment to come out with a statement on where they stand with regards to what President Gaddafi said.

2. I challenge our friends of the Muslim community to come out with a statement whether they support what President Gaddafi said about Christianity in Uganda.

3. I challenge the Christian community in Uganda to come out with a statement whether they stand with what President Gaddafi said about us. The challenges to slave trade in Africa as well as colonialism have come predominantly if not wholly from Christian leaders. The good current example is the Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu. Anyone who has read and heard him speak cannot entertain the idea that the church is a coloniser in Africa at least not today.

  
Festo Kiyongoro  
Bishop of Kigezi

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CSO: 3400/21

# RWANDA ASKS NATURALIZED CITIZENSHIP FOR REFUGEES

Kampala FOCUS in English 29 Aug 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Rwandese government has at last spoken out on the Rwandese refugees issue by appealing to the Uganda government to naturalise Rwandese refugees in Uganda saying that Rwanda is incapable of guaranteeing additional population.

Rwanda also made the same appeal to the international community wherever Rwandese refugees are to naturalise and integrate Rwandese refugees living there.

It however warned armed Rwandese refugees who would like to return home by force of arms.

"With regard to the return of refugees by force, with arms, which would threaten the peace, security, unity and national harmony, the people of Rwanda would not tolerate that, values which have been achieved through great efforts be jeopardised", the Rwandese government has warned. [as published]

This is contained in a statement made by the Rwandese ruling central committee of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (and presented to the Uganda government by the Rwandese Embassy in Kampala with regard to its position on the problem of Rwandese refugees).

It categorically pointed out that under the present conditions, Rwanda is absolutely incapable of quaranting [as published] not even food security to an additional population resulting from a massive repatriation of Rwandese refugees. Yet the absence of food security causes all sorts of other insecurities.

"...no reasonable person can ignore the constraint of population pressure that Rwanda faces within her borders or the consequent lack of arable land, neither the absence of natural resources which can generate jobs, nor her difficulties in providing education and medical facilities to her children", it added.

The Rwandese government revealed that through its policy of good neighbourliness, it has always appealed for international solidarity by way of integration and naturalisation of those refugees in the local population. It thus called on international organisations such as the United Nations High

Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to propose this option to those countries concerned, and also convince the concerned Rwandese people on the "Logic and correctness of this stand".

On its part the Rwandese government pledged to "always grant those Rwandese refugees settled, naturalised or not, facilities to come and visit their relatives and compatriots as long as their entry and stay in Rwanda is done according to international conventions Law and regulations of the Republic and do not carry seeds of insecurity".

Rwanda also promised to continue examining with good will the requests for individual, free and voluntary repatriation in light of the conventions of which it is a signatory and the regulations in force in Rwanda.

The regulations stipulated among others are that a refugee who may be considered for repatriation is one who has never taken arms against the Republic of Rwanda.

Others are that he has never participated in subversive activities against the interests of the Republic of Rwanda. This is in addition to showing that he is able to cater for his subsistence needs and self-realization when repatriated.

"Having said this, despite that the country is small, overpopulated and among the list developed countries of the world, Rwanda will always offer asylum in the framework of the conventions she signed.... However, once the conditions for their return to the countries of origin will be set, Rwanda will respect their individually expressed will to return to their motherland the MRND statement said.

It declared that there has never been an exodus of an ethnic group from Rwanda and that the majority of the people of Rwanda; hutu, tutsi, twa wished for, made and supported the moral revolution of 1973.

"Beyond the cheap talk on the history of Rwanda which reduces it wrongly to either the history of a dynasty or to the ethnic quarrels between the hutu and the tutsi, and without denying that these issues marked it, it is fitting to recall that this country has always been coveted. With a fertile soil, a rich forest and a very good vegetation, Rwanda suited the farmer, the cattle keeper and the hunger. But our ancestors were not able to ensure an equitable distribution of resources", the Rwandese government elaborated.

The Rwandese Embassy in Uganda has already distributed the MRND document to the Uganda Ministry of Foreign Affairs, all diplomatic and consular missions and international organisations accredited to Uganda, among others.

/9274

CSO: 3400/23

## HUMAN RIGHTS INQUIRY COMMISSION FORMED

Paris AFRICAN DEFENCE JOURNAL in English Aug 86 p 25

[Text]

The Minister of Justice and Attorney General, Joseph Nyamihanga Mulenga, has appointed a five-man commission of inquiry to look into all aspects of violation of human rights, breaches of the rule of law and excessive abuses of power committed against the people of Uganda by the regimes and governments during the period from October 9th, 1962 to January 25th, 1986.

The commission will also probe into the activities of the regime's servants, agents or agencies and look into possible ways of preventing the recurrence of violation of human rights, breaches of the rule of law and excessive abuses of power in the country.

They will especially inquire into: (a) The causes and circumstances surrounding the mass murders and all acts or omissions resulting in arbitrary deprivation of human life committed in various parts of Uganda; (b) the causes and circumstances surrounding the numerous arbitrary arrests, consequent detentions without trial, arbitrary imprisonment and abuse of powers of detention and restriction under the Public Order and Security Act of 1967; (c) the denial of any person of a fair and public trial before an independent and impartial court established by law; (d) the subjection of any person to torture and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment; (e) the

manner in which the law enforcement agents and the state security agencies executed their functions, the extent to which their practices and procedures employed in the execution of such functions may have violated the human rights of any person and the extent to which the state security agencies may have interfered with the functioning of law enforcement agencies; (f) the causes and circumstances surrounding the massive displacement of persons and exclusion of people, including Ugandan citizens, from Uganda and the consequent disappearance and presumed death of some of them; (g) the subjection of any person to discriminatory treatment by virtue of race, tribe, place of origin, political opinion, creed or sex by any person acting under any recent law or in the performance of the functions of any public office or public authority; (h) the denial to any person of any other fundamental freedoms and rights described under Chapter Three of the Constitution of Uganda or the unlawful interference with the enjoyment of any person in Uganda of the said freedoms and rights; (i) the protection by act or omission of any person that perpetrated any of the aforesaid things from due process of law; (j) any other matter connected with or incidental to the matters aforesaid which the commission may wish to examine and recommend.

/9284

CSO: 3400/22

# OBOTE'S PARAMILITARY 'SPECIAL FORCE' DISBANDED

## Police Issued New Uniforms

Kampala NEW VISION in English 29 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Sam Obbo]

[Excerpt] The Special Force has been disbanded, highly placed sources at the police headquarters in Kampala have disclosed.

The government has at last decided that the Special Force which virtually ceased to exist since January this year, be disbanded forthwith.

The force which was set up in 1981 as a para-military force for former President Milton Obote was to check and counter any apparent threats from the former Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). And this was evidenced by fatal exchanges of gunfire between the two forces on the first day the Special Force paraded in their new uniforms in Kampala. More than five Special Force men were killed then.

The force which was generally characterised by brutality towards civilians was later used by Obote to fight the National Resistance Army (NRA), the Uganda Freedom Army (UFM/UFA) and the Federal Democratic Army (FEDEMU/FDA), which were waging a guerrilla war to topple him.

The estimated 1,500-man force has been disbanded after a screening exercise instituted by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government early this year. The exercise included the police force.

Some of the special force soldiers deserted soon after the July 1986 coup that deposed Apolo Milton Obote from power.

Subsequently, the Uganda Police Force uniform has been changed from blue to fawn (colour between yellow and khaki). The new uniforms which have been manufactured and imported from England, are to be worn with effect from Monday, September 1, 1986. All policemen in and around Kampala with the exception of policewomen who have not yet received theirs will be required to be dressed in the new uniforms.

"Police-women and upcountry policemen who may not receive their new uniforms in time due to transport delays between the United Kingdom and their stations (up-country stations and un its) may be excused for the meantime," said a police source.

## Guns, Normal Duties Restored to Police

Kampala THE TELECAST in English 4 Sep 86 pp 1, 8

[Excerpt] All the Uganda Police Force duties which have hitherto been handled by the NRA were yesterday handed back to the police.

According to Mr Masembe, the Public Relations Officer in the police force the police has now been allowed to repossess guns and carry out their normal duties which had been taken over by the only force to guard government installations, escorting Ministers and other duties with the exception of investigations in several cases, where they need assistance due to lack of manpower.

On Monday the police force received a new uniform replacing the old one which had been issued three years ago.

Asked why the police force had earlier on been relieved of its duties, Mr Masembe said that the NRA had every reason to act so since there were many bad elements in the police force. Now that the screening exercise in the force has been completed, with over 2,000 policemen axed, the remainder has been allowed to resume their duties.

/9274

CSO: 3400/022

## VILLAGE TECHNOLOGY CENTER TO BE ESTABLISHED

Kampala NEW VISION in English 5 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Betty Balirwa]

[Text] A National centre to coordinate rural development activities in the country will soon be established.

The centre was inaugurated last Friday after a one week workshop on Integrated Rural Development at Mukono District Farm Institute.

Participants from various ministries did not say when the centre would be established but recommended and resolved that the Integrated Rural Development Centre (IRDC) will run its activities through an inter-ministerial and inter-agency committee under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

Participants said lack of political will and commitment had resulted in the abandonment of growth-oriented programmes in Uganda. They noted that due to undirected efforts and competition between relevant agencies, there has been duplication of efforts and wasteful use of resources.

It was against this background that participants recommended to government that an autonomous body be immediately established to streamline the country's "participatory approach to rural development".

They identified village technology as one of the basic service project approach to uplifting rural welfare standards.

At the closing of the workshop last Friday, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry Mr Robert Kitariko challenged leaders to implement growth-oriented programmes from grassroots.

He said there was need to increase research on the village technologies that will benefit the small or peasant farmer.

The aim of research should not only be to increase production crops or animals per unit area, but also to ensure an economic return on investments of small farmers...who seldom adopt input or output technologies.

All our efforts shall be directed to fighting poverty, ignorance disease and hunger in this nation.

To promote local initiative in the field of agriculture and improve on rural technologies, simple devices have already been set up at Mukono District Farm Institute. The officer in charge of this village technology, Mr P. Etyang said in a report he presented at the workshop that the ministry of Agriculture will launch a training programme to educate the rural people on how to make and use these devices.

The new methods include making and maintaining locally, threshers winners, mudbrick silos, cement stove silos and to improve on the traditional-granneries to make them rodent and moisture proof. They will also be taught to make solar driers and fuel fired driers for food storage.

Mr Etyanga said the above approach was a means to reduce the present heavy losses of food grains at the post harvest stage, which arose from poor processing techniques and inadequate storage facilities.

Poor storage methods have led to serious rodent, fungal, pollution and insect destruc- [paragraph not completed].

Another yet cheaper method is the common storage giant baskets used as graneries, common in eastern and northern Uganda. These have been found with a lot of potential in the making of roof basket tanks.

Farmers are also to be educated on how to use and make simple gravel-charcoal filters which they will use to remove suspended matter and colour from water yet reduce bacterial contamination.

The ministry of Agriculture is also working out the use of longer lasting structure for rural housing.

/9274

CSO: 3400/22

## DESCRIPTION OF BAZI MARKET NEAR SUDAN, ZAIRE BORDERS

Kampala THE TELECAST in English 4 Sep 86 pp 3, 4

[Text] The market at Bazi, just across the Sudanese border from Zaire, is a sprawling, ramshackle affair.

The stalls are built from wood and reeds, and old sacks have been sewn together to provide awnings. At the entrance, seated on the up-ended beer-crates, a group of young men in Western tee-shirts and flared trousers sit with their bundles of Zairean banknotes. The equivalent of \$2,500 is sitting out in the open, while the young men laugh and joke with the market crowds as they jostle past.

A mile up the road, by the weighing scales and the two new push-bikes, sit the Arabs. They lounge outside their dukas, or shops, on rush-mats, sipping tiny cups of coffee. The dukas themselves are full to bursting with the same commodity. You can buy a 100 kg sack of coffee for 700 pounds b560 at the official rate, but most purchasers prefer to drive down with a pickup full of new bicycles from Juba or Yei. At present, a bike is worth 120 kg of coffee beans.

#### A Time When...

One of the traders, called Hassan, explains: "There was a time when business was really good. Ugandan soldiers and traders used to bring lorry-loads from the South. There was even a new road built through West Nile to Kaya to make the journey easier. Coffee prices were high then--you could exchange a truck-load of coffee for a brand-new truck. For less than two tonnes, you drove home in a Toyota Scout."

Kaya, some eight miles Southeast of Bazi, lie at the point where Sudan, Zaire and Uganda join. By 1979, the town had a population of less than 300. But then when Ugandan leader Idi Amin was deposed, many of his troops fled with their new weapons from their home district of West Nile, to the sanctuary of Kaya District in Sudan. There are now 11,000 Ugandans settled around Kaya, Many of them sympathisers or members of the Uganda National Rescue Front whose guerrillas still dominate the northern section of West Nile. Both Amin's ex-soldiers and the UNLA were in the habit of selling their guns in the Kaya-Bazi area. The purchasers included Arab hunters, Nilotic cattle-raiders, and guerrillas from the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) or John Garang.

## Ugandan Supplies

Illicit business is still thriving on the Zairean side of Bazi. Jerry cans of petrol, which is in short supply in both Sudan and Zaire, are on sale at every shop, having been purchased by the drumload from the Kaya. There is a hefty cover-charge for transport up the steep hill that separates the two towns.

There are also Sportsman cigarettes, which have travelled from Kenya through Uganda (and sometimes Rwanda) to Zaire and Sudan. Other items on sale include paraffin, smart Western dresses, packets of tea (mainly from Uganda), sugar soap, vegetables, flour, bundles of second-hand clothes and crates of Skol lager (from Zaire). In the opposite direction from Sudan go motorbikes, pickups, bicycles, bales of cloth, radios, fish and cooking oil.

All this illicit trade takes place with the connivance, or active participation, of the Zairean border officials.

Most of it is conducted by Uganda girls and women, who prefer commerce to digging in the refugee settlements and who encounter resistance from the Zairean militia and police than do their male counterparts, who are frequently imprisoned as suspected guerrillas. Many of the girls raise their original capital by selling themselves in Zaire's hotels and bars, though it would appear that once they have sufficient money, they abandon prostitution to concentrate on business.

On the black market at Kaya and Bazi, \$10 fetches 90 or 2,000 Zaires, or 40,000 Uganda shillings.

Maka is 21 and has been doing runs to Zaire every few weeks for the last four years. She is one of the old-timers in a gang of 23, whose ages range from 14 to 33. They exchange business information and gossip and travel together in small groups to where the best bargains can be had.

/9274

CSO: 3400/23

## BRIEFS

POLICE FORCE TO BE INCREASED--Uganda is likely to build up its police force from the estimated 9,000 to between 23,000-28,000 police personnel in search of efficient services which are supposed to be offered by the police force such as maintaining law and order. This was revealed by the top officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs during a press conference held at the Ministry headquarters in Kampala on Monday this week. [Text] [Kampala WEEKLY TOPIC in English 27 Aug 86 p 6] /9274

CSO. 3400/21

## BRIEFS

STARVATION ON INCREASE--Lusaka--Malnutrition among children in Zambia was on the increase and becoming a major health problem, a Zambian official has said. Dr Lumbwe Chiwele, assistant director for medical services, said 70 percent of child deaths in Zambia were caused by malnutrition. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Sep 86 p 1] /9274

UNITA BLAMED FOR TROUBLE IN CHAVUMA--Lusaka--Zambia has accused Angolan refugees of being involved in activities against Zambia. Mr Ludwig Sondashi, of UNIP's Central Committee, said the activities of some of the Angolan refugees in the Chavuma area were "very dirty". The area has been the scene of landmine blasts and abduction of vi-lagers. Zambian authorities have blamed the Angolan rebel group Unita. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Sep 86 p 1] /9274

CSO: 3400/13

## SOUTH AFRICA

### COUNTERMEASURES TO SANCTIONS SUGGESTED, ADVOCATED

#### Specific Proposals Made

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 6 Aug 86 p 1

[Article: "Sanctions -- Hit Back!"]

[Text] South Africa should hit back hard if sanctions are imposed against it. That is what DIE AFRIKANER's authoritative Financial and Economic Committee declares. The committee, which has made a thorough study of the sanction question, says that the proper counteractions by South Africa would have painful consequences for the United States and European market countries if they impose sanctions against South Africa. The committee made detailed comments on the sanction proposals which are soon going to be considered by the American Congress, and suggested counteractions.

--All bank accounts of the South African government, its officials and state corporations should be frozen. Although this measure would hurt South Africa, the response to it should be to freeze all non-private American assets in the RSA, irrespective of what purpose they would be used for. Such a counteraction should thus also include political and semipolitical funds. All debts to the USA ought to also be deferred for an indefinite time.

--Powers to President Reagan to sell American gold supplies in order to force down the price of gold and in that way bring the South African economy to its knees. - The American government is experiencing a big deficit in its balance of payments and may consider such an action in order to lessen this deficit. South Africa's response to this ought to be to repatriate all foreign workers, which would strikingly demonstrate how dependent the whole subcontinent actually is on South Africa and job opportunities here. Another countermeasure that ought to be taken here is the transfer of all American investments in South Africa to the government. Unemployment could be fought in this way. European and other banks would certainly make use of the opportunity to buy gold, the committee predicts. The Americans would ultimately only punish themselves by such an action.

--The suspension of the South African Airline's landing rights in the USA. The response to this is an embargo on selected imports from the USA, breaking away from the dollar as a means of payment and severing financial ties with America.

—A ban on investments in South Africa. No action is needed against this. The existing American investments ought to be diminished in addition. New investments ought least of all be promoted.

—A ban on the import of South African steel, cement and uranium. The obvious counteraction in this case is a ban on the export of strategic minerals to the USA. Such a ban should also be coupled with the instituting of a quota on supplying other countries, so that strategic minerals do not reach the USA by a roundabout way. Such a ban should preferably be instituted for a long period, say a decade.

—The denial of visas. An appropriate counteraction in this connection would probably be a ban on travel of longer than a short period (for example, three weeks) of South Africans to the United States. This would also immediately put an end to the continual visit to the United States for "studies" and "training," which is nothing other than politically inspired.

The committee states that the international flow of goods through international and bilateral agreements is regulated. These agreements are forced on the world mainly by the Americans, with a view to furthering their own interests. The agreements would be broken by the United States and EEC countries if they turn to sanctions against South Africa. South Africa would in turn then be free to take suitable countermeasures.

#### Implications for Neighbors

Johannesburg DIE VADERLAND in Afrikaans 7 Aug 86 p 6

[Article: "Revenge Will Be of No Use"]

[Text] Many South Africans' reaction to the sanctions campaign is probably that we should now hit back; close our borders to the neighboring countries, hold back our minerals from the West and in general answer sanctions with countersanctions. This is a human reaction, and those who think like that are also the very ones who are loyal South Africans to the marrow of their bones. However, it is dangerous to allow emotional reaction to dominate in times of crisis. And there is no doubt that we are in a crisis situation. That is why sober composure and level-headed analysis are needed to get the wagon across the ford.

Minister Pik Botha said South Africa is not planning retaliation, but the country's interests must be protected. We do concur in that government decision. The question is what South Africa could attain through retaliation. They would not persuade the sanction countries to have other opinions. An article elsewhere shows that America has already committed itself to help our black neighboring countries against the effect of sanctions. Such help will increase, from other quarters also, as the need heightens. As a matter of fact, it is probable that those countries would use sanctions as an excuse to get aid against damage which is not even sanction damage. The Jonathan government has already used the formula. The Western economies are too strong to be seriously damaged even by a South African mineral boycott. It would drive them to other sources and other alternatives. As a whole, it would aggravate the aggression against South Africa, make the raging urge to destroy us more relentless.

It is more in South Africa's interest to harvest as much as we can while something can be harvested, in spite of sanctions. That is also the way to steer clear of sanctions. Protecting South Africa, however, also means that the specific interests of South Africans must get priority. It will therefore be necessary that certain things are done which hurt our neighboring countries and their people, but then out of consideration of our own peoples' interest and not [out of revenge] [translator's note: part of text missing in original]. Thus, a South African, black, white or Colored, is entitled to preference over an alien regarding available emoluments. Therefore, it is not revenge, but self-protection, if South Africa sends back workers from other countries and closes our borders so that more South Africans can earn their livelihood. The outside world cannot expect to make a quarter of a million people in the farming business unemployed by sanctions and for the business to still have to allocate some of the remaining jobs to citizens of countries that are carrying on sanctions against us. Even the Bible teaches you must love your neighbor as yourself, not at the expense of yourself.

13084

CSO: 3401/179

## BUREAU OF INFORMATION CHIEF ON ROLE OF ORGANIZATION

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 6 Sep 86 p 11

[Article by Shirley Pressly]

[Text]

THE Bureau for Information's Port Elizabeth office chief, Mr Carel van der Westhuizen, and his staff of 20 are determined to spread "a message of hope, co-operation and peace" in the Eastern Cape.

Interviewed at a time when the bureau is being widely criticised for its R1,5-million "song for peace" project, Mr Van der Westhuizen said his job was "to act as public relations officers for the Government".

It also included "bringing the Government to the people and promoting the concept that the Government is working for the people".

Mr Van der Westhuizen, who was transferred to the bureau from the Department of Foreign Affairs in September last year, took up his post in PE in May.

Asked how he viewed his job, Mr Van der Westhuizen said: "I find it most exciting because the main task of the bureau is to promote better inter-group relations and to improve communications between the State and its citizens."

"My office is also committed to counteract forces of division, violence, pessimism and hatred," he said.

"It is my intention to help create in the Eastern Cape an atmosphere among the people in which the principle 'Let South Africa speak' can flourish."

"We shall also act as a catalyst of a message of hope, co-operation and peace among all people in this region."

The bureau's function, he feels strongly, is dealing with people. He wants to get away from seeing any community as a grey mass.

"We want to personalise Government to the people of every community," he said.

His staff complement for the Eastern Cape bureau has been fixed at 33 but only 21 of the positions have been filled so far.

Asked how the bureau was going to get itself across to the people, Mr Van der Westhuizen replied: "We are going to use any means of communication available to us, be it commercial advertising, the media, projects such as 'Let South Africa Sing' or whatever," he said.

The main sections into which the bureau is divided are: liaison, media, guest section (hosting foreign visitors), and planning.

The liaison section's main task is to further con-

tact with all people in the Eastern Cape, to promote and create forums where people from different communities can contact one another via lectures, seminars and forums.

A long-term goal is to open an information centre attached to the bureau's office where anyone can get information on any Government activity.

Mr Van der Westhuizen said the power base of democracy in South Africa had broadened to include many communities and the Government was working towards including black South Africans. It was vital that contact at grassroots level be made with all members of the community.

It was unfortunate that some newspapers interpreted the presentation of the facts without sensation by the information arm of the Government — the bureau — as censorship.

Mr Van der Westhuizen said one thing he had noticed in the Eastern Cape was the similarity between Afrikaners and Xhosa speakers.

Both were proud and also *hardnekkia* (stubborn) but this in fact made for a lot of common ground between

the two and should be used as a basis for unification and not division.

"The Eastern Cape is special. It has its special problems. Instead of finding division we should find common ground," he said.

Asked about contact with the African communities, Mr Van der Westhuizen replied: "We are making contact and we would like to broaden the contact. I can sense that they want to speak and want to be listened to but they still have that raw fear."

"Our black communities have been intimidated for such a long period that the psychological effect is still being experienced," he said.

One aspect which was common ground with all people was the aspiration of parents to improve their children's future. He would like to see concerned youths and their parents get together in a forum.

"We are concentrating on the silent majority of South Africans in the Eastern Cape. We know they are the majority. The radicals, either to the left or to the right, are of secondary interest because we believe they are in the minority," said Mr Van der Westhuizen.

DECENTRALIZATION VIEWED AS POSSIBLE SOLUTION TO RSA PROBLEMS

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 6 Aug 86 p 8

[Article by Piet Muller: "Westminster's Ghost -- Is There an Alternative to Decentralization?"]

[Text] South Africa has survived several international campaigns against it since the 1960's. It is to be hoped that it will also be able to counter the current sanction campaign with its inherent economic power. Yet one must assume that sanctions will exert a serious inhibitory influence on the economy for a long time. In fact, there are signs that at least certain people in the foremost sanction countries are already beginning to realize that they have created a dilemma which is going to yet cause them as well as South Africa a lot of trouble: how does one undo sanctions after one has once instituted them? There is little that a white-dominated government can do in the future to get sanctions lifted, simply because countries will not be able to lift their sanctions without losing prestige or exposing themselves to emotional extortion. If one looks back at a quarter of a century of international rancor against South Africa, one notes how the emotions against the country have each time flared up just a little bit higher than the time before. At present this has gone beyond everything preceding it, and South Africa will be realistic if it asks itself what international punitive measures will be contemplated next time. Military intervention perhaps?

Strong Public Pressure

However one looks at it, South Africa is involved in a race against time. On the one hand, there are the blazing expectations of the international community and, on the other hand, the growing pressure for full political rights by the country's black residents. Add to that the growing desire of white voters for finding a solution which can satisfy everyone, and one sees that there is really reason to tackle the constitutional problems with speed and meaning. There is actually already such a strong public pressure for an acceptable solution that one must seriously wonder what is preventing such a solution. One of the biggest stumbling blocks is of course the country's Westminster heritage. The government has several times already stated in public that we will have to move away from the Westminster system before a solution is possible. But old traditions die hard. The current tricameral system is actually just the Westminster system in disguised form. The big

problem that the Westminster system causes in a heterogeneous society is that the largest group always tries to get the central power in its hands and can make life bitterly uncomfortable for smaller groups. The constitution of 1983 did not eliminate this problem; therefore, blacks cannot become involved in central political decisionmaking by way of a fourth chamber. There are already numerically so many blacks, and their population growth is so high, that the other three chambers would plainly have been handed over to the fourth chamber. The tricameral parliament is thus not the final answer; at most a new turning point on the way to the answer.

The government is indeed solidly on the right path with the other leg of its constitutional reforms; namely, devolution of power to lower government bodies. Where there have been successful constitutional solutions to multiracial problems in the world, it has almost always been based on decentralization. In a country like Switzerland there is hardly even talk of a central government, and even the presidential post is held by someone else every few months. This sort of solution has remarkably many adherents in South Africa: from Dr Piet Koornhof, who was the first to introduce the term "canton system" into political talk, to Mr Leon (Vryemark) Louw as the very latest convert. There is almost no political party which cannot be reconciled to the idea of decentralization. This makes one again wonder why devolution and decentralization of power are being implemented with so little enthusiasm in South Africa. What devolution there has been so far has been accompanied by a dangerous amount of centralized supervision and control.

#### Totally Inconceivable

The same holds true of regional solutions. It has already been said often that South Africa is too large and its problems too complex for one umbrella solution. It is indeed clear that a person in the Western Cape will be able to find a different solution on a regional level than, for example, in the PWV area. Yet there is a clear lack of enthusiasm among our constitution drafters for this approach, as is evidenced by the government's lukewarm attitude about the Natal indaba. Can it be that it is again the ghost of Westminster standing in the way? Have we gotten so used to the central government using its authority to ban local affairs such as dog races in Transvaal or Sunday movies in Natal that a government without the authority to interfere in local affairs is totally inconceivable to us?

One can realize that decentralized government must look like a complete abdication of authority to a generation of politicians and officials who grew up with the Westminster system. Yet, the very fact that South Africa has a state president with extraordinary powers makes it possible to have the transition from centralized to decentralized government proceed smoothly and without shock. Do we have another choice?

13084  
3401/179

POSSIBLE MERGER OF KP, HNP DISPUTED

Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 5 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Hendrik Coetzee and Theuns van der Westhuizen, political editorial staff: "KP Says a New 'Unification Party' Is Coming--HNP Says 'We Are Not Merging'"]

[Text] Cape Town--While the Conservative Party [KP] spoke yesterday of the possible establishment of a new "unification party" between itself and the Herstigte Nasionale Party [HNP], the HNP said there is no question of that at this stage. Enmity between leading figures of those two parties and differences of principle over the two parties' policy directions concerning the Indians, the language question, a state deliberation [body], Mr John Vorster and the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging [Resistance Movement] are obviously still the biggest stumbling blocks in the way of closer cooperation between those part parties.

Mr Frank le Roux, MP for Brakpan and executive committee member of the KP, told BEELD upon inquiry last night the two parties are moving toward a merger to create a united rightist front "as a viable alternative." In contrast, Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the HNP, said there is no question at this stage that the KP and HNP may merge. Mr Marais said cooperation is indeed possible, but not merger. The differences of principle, about which the HNP holds a strong view, have to be ironed out first. "As far as we are concerned, there has never yet been any doubt that we must cooperate as far as possible so that a spirit of mutual trust can be created, but merger has never yet been an alternative. If there are KP members who talk of merger, they are definitely not doing it on behalf of the HNP."

Mr Le Roux said the "unification of the KP and HNP is an important priority." The KP and HNP must now get together to iron out any differences that still exist. Talks are going on between those parties at the highest level. The KP's position is that a "unification congress" should be held as soon as the differences have been ironed out, "and, if it is necessary, even establish a new party and the category of things as we now can agree on." Mr Le Roux said. To the question whether this means that a new party with a new name and constitution will be founded, he said: "Let us just keep to the word unification. These are all things that lie in the future. The nucleus of our position is that we fight the NP as one political party. About the possible

bridging of existing differences of principle between the two parties, Mr Le Roux said he did not want to anticipate that. These are matters that definitely "will receive attention, and we entertain the highest expectations that differences which exist will be ironed out."

--In reaction to a report that the SABC has decided to give coverage only to ministers and party leaders in the Klip River by-election, Mr Marais said the SABC cannot act as if the ruling party's speakers are of greater interest than those of the opposing party. The HNP has just as great a chance to win the by-election as the NP. An election speech deals only with the support of a candidate, and a minister thus cannot have more news value than another speaker. The HNP candidate, Mr Chris Wolmarans, is right when he says SABC TV is discriminating against the HNP, Mr Marais said.

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3401/180

## NOMINATION OF 'FAR-LEFT' NP CANDIDATE CRITICIZED

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 6 Aug 86 pp 1, 13

[Article: "NP Nominates Far-Leftist in Klip River"]

[Text] The NP has nominated a far-leftist, Mr Jaco Maree, as its candidate in the Klip River constituency. Mr Maree, nominated in the place of Mr Thys Wessels, who suddenly died, has for several years served on the editorial advisory committee of an extremely left-oriented magazine, DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN. Other persons who are involved in the publication are the controversial writer, Professor Andre Brink, Professor Johan Degenaar of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Andre du Toit, also of the University of Stellenbosch, Professor Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town, and Professor Tjaart van der Walt, rector of Potchefstroom University. The editor is Professor Herman Giliomee of the University of Cape Town. Those involved in the publication's political viewpoints vary from leftist to far-leftist. Professor Brink has for years been known for his anti-white statements, while Professor Wilson is involved in the End Conscription Campaign, an organization that endeavors to abolish compulsory military service. Professor Du Toit is a vehement opponent of all forms of separation among races, as also appears in his books, including Die Sonde van die Vaders [The Sin of the Fathers].

DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN's appearance two years ago was attended with great controversy in the light of the publication's far-leftist strain. In particular, a little poem in the first edition gave rise to wide public aversion. It read: [in English] "If I pour petrol/ on a white child's face/ and give flames/ the taste of his flesh/ it won't be a new thing/ I wonder how I will feel/ when his eyes go pop/ and when my nostrils sip the smell/ of his flesh/ and his scream touches my heart/ I wonder if I will be able to sleep...." A well-known Pretoria architect and former member of the Publication Board, Mr Johan de Ridder, lodged a complaint at the Publication Board at that time. In giving his reasons, Mr De Ridder characterized the poem as "sadistic." It also speaks of undisguised hatred of the white man, he claimed. Professor Van der Walt later stated that he had "serious reservations" about the content of the publication. He said that if a solution were not found, he would reconsider his position as under-chairman of the editorial advisory committee. However, Professor Van der Walt never publicly dissociated himself from the publication.

13084

CSO: 3401/180

AFRIKANER-VOLKSWAG CRITICIZED FOR POLITICKING

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 9 Aug 86 p 8

[Letter to the Editor: "The Volkswag's 'Fig Leaf' Has Fallen Off"]

[Text] Grower from the Western Cape writes:

Professor Carel Boshoff has from the beginning loftily claimed that his baby, the Afrikaner-Volkswag, is a cultural body and not a political one, in spite of the fact that the founding assembly of the Volkswag looked more like an emotional political party rally than a cultural gathering. They reacted furiously whenever they were accused of politicking. And now? Now the fig leaf of "culture" has fallen off, and the Volkswag stands stripped naked of all pretense, for at its recent congress Prof Boshoff talked of a plan "to get control of town councils and other local bodies." He also further said that "All Afrikaners who agree with the volkstaat [ethnic state] concept should now join forces" and that "quick and effective" action must be taken if opportunities arise to get control over local bodies.

Shameless

Professor Alkmar Swart said at the same congress that he "can announce with pride that the Volkswag has gotten control of several school committees." He said that the members must be alert like watchdogs to liberal tendencies in the educational system and that they must start planning for Boer national education for "when one day we rule over our own volkstaat." So, from the horse's mouth! If that is not politics, what then is politics? What is going on here is a shameless politicizing of local bodies by the Volkswag, which in turn is nothing other than a masked political arm of the far-rightists, but in particular of the KP.

Acceptable

Volkswag members are quick to say that the FAK [Federation of Afrikaner Cultural Associations] is nor longer able nor enthusiastic enough to take care of the Afrikaner's cultural interests. If by that they mean that the FAK is not willing to take over control in local bodies, they are entirely correct, for the FAK has never yet been guilty of such a thing, and will also never do it, because that is not its duty. It is a genuine, pure cultural body which

deals with the Afrikaner's culture and leaves politics to the politicians. (Strangely enough, the FAK was wholly acceptable to the Volkswag when the latter petitioned for affiliation with the FAK. The FAK was also still wholly acceptable to them when Professor Boshoff still had a seat on the FAK's executive committee. When the Volkswag's petition for affiliation did not succeed and its attack ,or rather attempt to take over, on the FAK's executive committee was not successful, then just as suddenly the FAK was no longer good enough to handle the Afrikaner's cultural affairs! But that just incidentally.)

This self-acknowledged action of the Volkswag is nothing other than the permeation of politics to local committees and boards. It is potentially self-destructive for the Afrikaner. For the sake of fancied political benefit, far rightists are willing to weaken and paralyze the Afrikaner in all spheres of life by fomenting and spreading discord, strife and bitterness. It is urgently necessary for people who have Afrikaner cultural promotion at heart to see to it that there is effective resistance to this politically inspired obsession for taking over and politicizing extra-political spheres of life.

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CSO: 3401/179

## BRIEFS

STUDENT POLITICS CRITICIZED--It seems inevitable that tough party politics is for the first time going to be a factor in the student council election of the University of Pretoria. As a matter of fact, there are indications that a struggle between rightists and verligtes [moderates] is going to be the most important factor in the course of the election, the primary goal of which is to appoint leaders for the largest student community in the country. The recent course of the ASB [Afrikaner Students' Union] congress proved that the day is past when student politics can revolve around purely student affairs. As a matter of fact, as is the case in any sphere of South African society today, political discord is also felt on our university campuses. This principle of a politically active student community cannot be faulted. The fact is that South Africa allows its young people to vote starting from their eighteenth year, so that it is only logical that political groups will also exist on the campuses and that in elections preference will be given to candidates who hold certain political views, while their role in the advancement of student interests is no longer of decisive importance. What DIE TRANSVALER is against is where student politics is carried on in such a manner that the academic activities are disrupted, even leading to rebelliousness, as just recently happened at the University of the Witwatersrand. New tensions are being created at the UP [University of Pretoria] with the rightwing Afrikaner Students' Front, which was just banned from operating on campus. Nevertheless, we trust that the political differences at that university will be handled in an intelligent manner, so that it will not be necessary to hang one's head in shame later on. [Text] [Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 1 Aug 86 p 12] 13084

NP CONGRESS URGED--If there is a suspicion since the announcement of the state of emergency that a moratorium on reform has entered the picture, then recent events concerning sanction actions will only strengthen that suspicion. This reference is specifically to political reform, for there are numerous examples of elimination of socio-economic discrimination, such as, among other things, salary parity for the teaching profession and also the health services. The latter, however important, is unfortunately only one half of the reform that can be called spectacular or visible reform. We are still wrestling with political rights which meet the requirements of democracy, and

it is about that we are standing in the center of world opinion. It cannot be disputed that a sort of stalemate position has been reached. The expectations which were aroused with the announcement at the start of the year about the Statutory Council have not materialized into reality. The situation of unrest had a lot to do with that, for it is precisely the aim of the ANC and its henchmen to make reform fail, because the democratic formula does not suit them. Nevertheless, it remains necessary for the impasse to be ended--for a breakthrough to occur that will awaken new expectations. The government must play an important role in that. The question is whether the NP's Federal Congress next week, along with the rest of the parliamentary shift, can bring a turnabout--a turnabout which will foster the common man's peace of mind and will generate business confidence. [Text] [Pretoria DIE TRANSVALER in Afrikaans 4 Aug 86 p 16] 13084

BLACK EDUCATION IMPROVEMENT ADVISED--We often lose sight of how great the challenge is which awaits the country and its black people. Dr Gerrit Viljoen touched on that yesterday when he pointed out that South Africa's population will possibly be 78 percent black in scarcely 30 years. By that time there will simply no longer be enough Whites to provide all the services which now assure that the wheels keep rolling smoothly. Hence the big task ahead: from now on education will have to be provided for 50,000 new black students each year; 60 new schools must be built every year, 1,500 teachers found, and 60 experienced people must be made available as heads of those schools. If that does not happen, even the government may by that time be partly in the hands of people who are not all equal to their task, and millions of untrained persons will be without work. Dr Viljoen has already said the Verwoerdian dream of an educational system which permanently keeps blacks in a subordinate position is impracticable. It is of the utmost importance that black education be depoliticized and improved. Good disposition and more money are needed for that. As regards that, talk of sanctions was a blessing in disguise. Foreign companies which on the one hand want to soothe their consciences and on the other satisfy their stockholders (or their country's politicians) are making large sums available for student scholarships and better training facilities. The quicker the handicap is overcome in the field of black education, the better. [Text] [Pretoria BEELD in Afrikaans 6 Aug 86 p 8] 13084

CSO: 3401/179

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC OFFICIALS STATEMENTS ON 'MARCH TOWARD FREEDOM'

EA061932 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English to South Africa 1930 GMT  
5 Sep 86

[Commentary with recorded statements by Johnny Makatini, head of the ANC International Department; Joe Slovo, chief of staff of the Umkhonto We Sizwe; Mac Maharaj, ANC Executive Committee member; and (Chris Kandit Ilevani), a commissar of Umkhonto We Sizwe; date and place not given]

[Text] Compatriots, the events in Soweto these days have proved [word indistinct] that we can no longer be stopped in our march towards freedom. We have finally managed to make our country ungovernable. Botha can no longer govern us with his laws and decrees. [sentence indistinct] Our main task now is to move from ungovernability to the seizure of power. How do we do that? In our program tonight we present to you several members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC discussing the way forward to victory. Firstly, our head of the International Affairs Department, Comrade Johnny Makatini, noted that our determination to fight on and reject all Botha's constitutional maneuvers and reforms has won us international admiration.

[Begin Makatini recording] Firstly, to tell my people that by the [words indistinct] that is all the South African patriots of all races, particularly the black people, and the end of that stage [words indistinct] African people, the so-called colored people and people of Asian origin [words indistinct] have won our struggle international respect and admiration. It is in a way a challenge to the international community to move from rhetoric to action, because, I mean, there are few examples in the history of mankind where [words indistinct] oppressed women and oppressed people is given some half a loaf and say no: Keep your stale bread, keep your poisoned bread. We do not just want the whole loaf, we now want the whole bakery. This is what the people have said [words indistinct] having the immediate effect of consolidating these alliances and putting our people on the road for the revolution. That is now inevitable, if not imminent.

Now, as to the message I am giving to (?the people) [words indistinct] remains desperate. We have reached the end of the (?tarmac). The struggle is

about to take off in earnest. [Words indistinct] and one to guide us all the time is that a people united can never be defeated and therefore, do not listen to those who preach tribal politics, racial politics among those that aim at dividing us.

This is the correct [words indistinct] the regime. This is what frightens the allies of the regime [passage indistinct] we are dealing with a regime that is obstinate, that is fascist, and it will impose [passage indistinct] But our task now is to make that constitution unworkable, the apartheid system unworkable. And already you have done that. We have just heard of the news of how you defied and [words indistinct] our people defied the laws outlawing --the decree outlawing--the funerals. You have outlawed--I mean you have unbanned the [word indistinct]--you have made it a living instrument in fact, a continuing (?one).

When you meet (?the) family, some [words indistinct] some of us are going to be arrested, some of us are going to be injured, some of us are going to even be killed, and those of us who escape those hardships must redouble their efforts to ensure that those who shall have died will not have died in vain. (?The patience) of Nelson Mandela [words indistinct] at any moment. He is going to know how to use [words indistinct]. Now is the time [words indistinct]. There will come a time when instead of (?praying) [words indistinct] the ambition of everybody to get a weapon that he can hide somewhere to that when the time comes instead of throwing stones he can be throwing a hand grenade instead of [passage indistinct] We are not observers in this revolution. We are all participants. [End recording]

Comrade Joe Slovo who is the COS of Umkhonto we Sizwe took this situation and assessed the level of armed struggle, which is very vital at the present stage of the struggle.

[Begin Slovo recording] The [word indistinct] of the [word indistinct] which is developing at the moment amongst the people is a situation which demands an escalation of armed activities whose intensity must be increased. The blows against the enemy must happen more than they have in the past and it is important in particular for enemy personnel to feel the sting of Umkhonto we Sizwe. We have not had in the past and have never hidden the fact [word indistinct] is the unfolding of peoples war in South Africa. It is the only way. There is no way for the African oppressed or indeed for the black [word indistinct] generally to bring about any meaningful transformation without the revolutionary overthrow of this racist regime. (?I mean) the end will only be achieved by a combination of mass political struggle [words indistinct] uprising together with the unfolding of peoples war, and peoples war means involving the people in armed struggle.

That is our objective and this is what we must be working for more and more. And in contemplating this objective and assessing its possibilities we must be [words indistinct] that the youth remain ready to give their lives for liberation and that is the starting point for peoples war, where the

mood of anger, the mood of frustration, the mood of confidence reaches a point where the youth develop a [words indistinct] and are ready to go out to face the enemy and that is what is happening in South Africa today.

And our task as a liberation movement the one to which we are devoting ourselves is to harness that mood into a mass organized assault on the enemy forces and his installations and to make that assault more widespread than it is at the moment. And this task, let me say, is not merely the task of the leadership factor of ANC or the command factor of Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is the task of all of you who are listening to this broadcast. You must yourselves to out amongst your friends, among those who attack. Organize together for the purpose of creating levels which will begin to have the capacity to act against the enemy not just in street [word indistinct], but in [words indistinct] assaults against the policeman who walks in the streets, against the police station which is there to send out the armored cars and armed soldiers and police to shoot down the children, against the enemy installations. It is something which you can do. It is something which you can do under the general leadership and banner of the ANC and its armed wing, Unkhonto we Sizwe. [End recording]

Comrade Joe Slovo continued and assessed the impact our determination to defeat the enemy has had on the international community.

[Begin Slovo recording] Everywhere throughout the world you have roused the admiration and the support of democrats, of people who are dedicated to help you with the ending of the racist regime. And everywhere there is a feeling based on what you have actually done with your courage and your heroism. There is a feeling that the racist enemy can be crushed. And you have shown once again and you are continuing to show even as I speak that the struggle for liberation is moving towards its inevitable victory. And if my message could be summed up in one sentence, it would be this: The enemy and his collaborators must be given no rest. Amandla. [End recording]

Comrade Mac Maharaj, on his part, stressed the need for us to be tempered in struggle and be vigilant at all times. He stressed the point that we are nearing the end of the road.

[Begin Mahara recording] He must be tempered in our (?leadership). As people with the responsibility of leading our revolution, we must be very tempered. We are in a ruthless struggle. We are faced with a ruthless and brutal enemy with immense resources and tremendous backing from the imperialist community. The imperialist community is afraid of lifting the lid slightly in case the whole lid is blown off. So [words indistinct] the events unfolding in our country, the maturity, the defiance of our masses, the spirit of revolt sweeping through every corner of our country is an extremely heartening development. It is a development that makes the blood in all our veins race, because the long-cherished dream of freedom is drawing near at a tremendously rapid pace. No one can predict how quickly that situation will blow up out of proportion; out of proportion from the point of view of

the enemy so that he will be totally incapable of even maintaining any facade of control over the developments. I think there is in that sense a tremendous excitement in all our blood.

But in the midst of battle it is necessary for us as leaders, for our movement, the ANC, to allow for every eventuality and plan for every eventuality, because what is at stake, comrades, is victory. So, in our planning we must go to take advantage of every positive development. Every element that makes the hegemony, the cohesion of the ruling class crack must be exploited. Every element that brings the unity of our people in action must be taken a step further. We must press on with more determination at every moment that the enemy hesitates. But in pressing on, we must also open our eyes to every trick that the enemy will be pulling out of his bag to survive. [words indistinct] correctly launched within the strategy of our movement, a strategy of protracted peoples war in which partial and general uprisings of the people will play a vital role.

That rule that (?holds) practically is unfolding. The masses are showing how important the instrument of mass uprising is, how powerful. What I am saying, comrades, is with all the excitement in my veins, with all the visions that dreams is now near. [as heard] I can be seen. We can feel it. We can say even more truly, like our Chief Luthuli said, Freedom in our lifetime. We see that coming and we are working for it day and night.

But I say that in a cause of a people who have been enslaved for so long by such a powerful enemy, we must at all times yield our claim to our birth-right and we must be prepared to fight this enemy to the death, at whatever cost and however long. I believe, however, comrades, that time is shortening. That the protracted war strategy does not remain protracted for every. At some time, a point in time, a protracted war comes to an end, to victory. But the elements for that, the elements for that victory are now coming together in our country. Mass action, unity of our people, Umkhonto we Sizwe's ability demonstrated and now no longer denied by anybody--Nkomati or no Nkomati--that Umkhonto is rooted among our people; that the ANC underground is rooted amongst our people, that our people are no longer watching the activities of the ANC and Umkhonto like spectators at a sports match, football match, who cheer the team but themselves sit still relaxing in the stadium seats; that in fact our people have left the stadium seats and gone into the football pitch. They are active participants now and cannot be removed from the (?pitch). These elements all have to be built upon and it is the job of all the advanced cadres steeled in facing the enemy bullets, steeled in battles to come in a disciplined way into the political formation of the ANC, in a disciplined way into the army formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. And at the same time, never to leave their roots amongst the masses, because that is our (?creed). So I believe, comrades, we are nearing. Events are moving at a rapid pace. I think that victory is in sight, but how long (?it will take), no one can tell. [End recording]

Finally, Comrade (Chris Kandit Ilevani), a commissar of Umkhonto we Sizwe, says that although it is clear that no force on earth can ever stop us now, we still have to prepare ourselves for the tough times ahead. He says we must prepare for a long winter.

[Begin (Ilevani) recording] We are still going to fight (?probably) for a very long time. And thus it [words indistinct] a properly organized army prepares itself for any eventuality, prepares itself for a long cold winter in its campaign. But our people must be prepared to fight under any conditions, they must expect a ruthless and determined enemy to (?track) them, that the spirit of sacrifice should be the key word, that our people, in fact, must arm themselves.

In the call issued by our movement, a lot of attention is paid to this question of people arming themselves. There are arms everywhere in that country. The white community is a militarized community. Every shopkeeper, every dealer, every farmer has got weapons in his house. The people must grab those weapons and use them against the enemy. Every weapon is important in dealing with that regime. So, the workers, the peasants, the agricultural workers, the students, women, and everybody else must see himself as a soldier of Umkhonto we Sizwe, as a member of the ANC, and must equip himself with the instruments of destroying that regime, which I think I could emphasize, is the importance of unity, unity in action. [as heard] The people must not allow wedges to be driven between them. They must not allow themselves to be pushed, to be diverted from concentrating on the enemy. They must help those who have not yet understood the proper definition of the enemy to understand that definition. People must (?know) that unity and that unity must also be achieved in (?constant roles). It must be a unity that is a product of a disciplined struggle against the enemy.

The working class must remember that it is a vital and decisive force in our revolution. They must build the unity of that working class, the unity of the TU movement. They must act together in cohesion. They must move out as the [words indistinct] to challenge that regime, to challenge the state of emergency, to challenge the right of that regime to rule our people. They must know now that time has gone, where TU's could afford the luxury of concentrating only on economic issues, because the defects of our working class, the ills and the poverty and unemployment, will only be solved when the workers have got power in their hands and can be voted for and vote for a government of their own choice. [End recording]

/6662

CSO: 3400/568

REPORTERS GIVE PROFILE OF NEWLY-ELECTED PAC PRESIDENT

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 12-18 Sep 86 p 8

[Article by Howard Barrell and Sefako Nyaka]

[Text]

ZEPH MOTHOPENG will attend no international conferences, shake no prime ministers' hands, make no major speeches, tread no red carpets, hear no acclaim.

Zephania "Uncle" Mothopeng was last month elected president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress. But it may be a while before he arrives to take up his post.

For Zeph Mothopeng is currently serving his third spell in a South African prison, this time for 15 years.

He was found guilty on charges under the Terrorism Act at the marathon Bethal trial in 1979. Sentencing him, Justice J Curlewis said Mothopeng had acted "to sow the seeds of anarchy and revolution which had led to the 1976 riots".

Born in 1913 at the north-eastern Transvaal township of Daggakraal, near Amesfort, Mothopeng taught at Orlando High School for 17 years. He left to teach in Lesotho in 1956 because of his opposition to Bantu education.

He returned in 1958 and joined Robert Sobukwe and others who were disenchanted with the African National Congress. They founded the PAC in early 1959.

In 1960 Mothopeng, who holds a Bachelor of Arts degree, was arrested for his part in the PAC anti-pass campaign and sentenced to two years imprisonment. At the time of his arrest he was about to write his legal exams.

Shortly after his release, he was arrested and detained under the 90-day law.

He was later charged with carrying on the activities of the banned PAC and was sentenced to three years imprisonment.

In May 1976, he was released and banished to Witzieshoek where he occupied a 4m by 3m corrugated iron shed. While there, the then Department of Bantu Administration and Development offered Uncle Zeph a labourer's job at 65 cents a day.

The department also offered to assist his wife, Urbania Mothopeng, and her children with arrangements to stay in Witzieshoek.

Both offers were turned down and six months later Mothopeng was back at his Meadowlands home, where he was placed under stringent banning orders that virtually confined him to the house.

In 1970, when his daughter Sheila announced her engagement to Ionian Choir cellist Mike Masote at a gathering, Mothopeng was forced to leave the house. He stood shivering in the cold outside while Security Police watched.

He was given special permission to attend his daughter's wedding the following year.

Mothopeng was again arrested in 1976 and, after nearly three years in prison, he was convicted. He received two 15-year sentences.

The 74-year-old is only the second person to hold the post of PAC

president. The other was PAC founder Robert Sobukwe, who died of cancer in 1978, nine years after his release from Robben Island.

Potlako Leballo, who led the PAC to disastrous infighting and decline in Sobukwe's absence before being deposed and later expelled in 1979, was only chairman of the PAC. Leballo died earlier this year.

The PAC has recently sought to promote the case of the ageing Mthopeng and to present him in international fora as the PAC's "Mandela".

PAC chairman of one year, Johnson Mlambo, also a former Robben Island prisoner, stays on as chairman of the central committee under Mthopeng's largely titular presidency. Mlambo succeeded John Pokela, PAC chairman who died in Harare last year.

Mthopeng's image and the leadership of Mlambo will be important contributions to the PAC's attempts to buy time in order to try to regain some of the vast amount of ground it has lost over the past decade.

But the real test remains the PAC's ability and will to engage the South African state politically and militarily — two areas in which its prospects do not look good.

There have already been isolated military clashes involving PAC cadres. And under Mlambo's leadership the PAC has mounted a renewed diplomatic offensive.

Part of the campaign has been to allege a conspiracy between the South African government, the ANC and journalists to ignore the PAC and its activities.

But, asked at a press conference at

the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Harare last week to list recent PAC military and other actions inside South Africa, Mlambo said he would not. Instead, he referred journalists to statements by South African government officials that the PAC was active and to a trial in the Cape.

According to Frontline state sources, PAC officials have also claimed responsibility, in private, to foreign government officials for attacks which, according to overwhelming evidence available in neighbouring states, were in fact carried out by the ANC.

The PAC diplomatic offensive has also seen at least one sharp about-turn in the past five years. From a position of strong support for Iraq in 1982, the organisation has now swung around to backing Iran in the Gulf war.

According to usually reliable sources, the PAC currently has a total of some 400 guerrillas. This is about four percent of the ANC total of about 10 000 guerrillas and is as many as, according to sources, the ANC currently has operating inside the country.

Mlambo has impressed some foreign officials and even those sometimes termed his "rivals".

The PAC's current diplomatic push has been an attempt to secure for itself all those privileges to which it might formally be entitled as a "liberation movement" accredited by the Organisation of African Unity. Among the things it is seeking to correct is the refusal by Angola, Mozambique and Zambia to allow it an official presence on their soil. These three countries currently allow only an ANC official presence.

/9274

CSO: 3400/18

TRANSKEI LAUNCHES INVESTIGATION INTO MISAPPROPRIATED FUNDS

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Graham Ferreira]

[Text]

A high-level investigation into alleged misuse and misappropriation of huge sums of money in the Transkei Department of Works and Energies has been ordered by the Transkei Auditor-General, Mr Jyana Maquebela.

The former head of Durban's Commercial Branch, Mr John Trickey, has been appointed to head the investigation.

It follows months of rumours and complaints about irregularities which some informed sources believe involve hundreds of millions of rands.

A source in the Transkei Government said the investigation involved "people at a high level in both the Transkei and South Africa".

The Department of Works and Energies was responsible for one of the projects which will come under close scrutiny — the

R20 million white elephant housing estate built by Jalco Holdings with foreign capital.

Recently Durban's Sunday Tribune reported that the housing project at Isibeleni, just outside of Queenstown, was undertaken by Jalco on behalf of the Transkei Government "with approval at the highest level".

Of the 330 houses built two years ago, 300 are still unoccupied, and questions are being asked about how the project was given the green light in the first place and how valuable foreign capital was used in this manner.

Recently a South African building firm declared itself bankrupt after it had already received R10 million from the Transkei Government on winning a tender for a massive housing project.

In another case, a company was awarded a tender and was paid up-front money. Soon afterwards

it declared itself bankrupt.

Leading members of that company then formed a new company under another name and won the tender again.

Chief Justice van Heerden's judicial inquiry into the Department of Commerce and Industries is in the throes of winding up its business and finishing its report.

A commission source said the newly-appointed inquiry into the Department of Works and Energies would "really rock the boat".

"It was while we were looking at the Department of Commerce and Industries that the can of worms in Works and Energies began to open up. One thing led to another," he said.

"The problem is that while all this money is being thrown around, the South African taxpayer ultimately has to foot the bill."

A source close to the Transkei Government believes that the Transkei is being used by South African businessmen to "launder" money from South Africa to overseas countries.

/9274

CSO: 3400/13

## NEW 'FREEDOM SCHOOL' GIVES CLASSES TO SOWETAN CHILDREN

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 p 12

[Article by Carrie Curzon]

[Text]

MOST Soweto kids want to learn and these are no different: the Freedom School where they are being taught has expanded so fast that lessons are sometimes given on the stairs.

The school — the only one of its kind on the Reef — opened in February and already has 100 eager pupils, thirsty for knowledge.

"The optimum number is really 45," sighed the teacher responsible for it all, Mrs Lucie Pursell.

"But it is hard to turn them away. They are so keen to learn and they demand high standards. They don't want inferior teachers. They know when someone is good or bad. They are highly critical and kick up a fuss if you are late for class."

Schooling for these youngsters whose parents cannot afford private education, means a disused warehouse for a classroom, a maths lesson on the stairs, a football game in the streets, a science experiment in jam tins.

It also means remembering to hide schoolbooks for fear of reprisals from angry comrades. For this reason, the school keeps a low profile and The Sunday Star has agreed not to identify it.

"Beg, steal and borrow is the motto here," Mrs Pursell said. "We live from day to day. We have expanded, but we will soon have nowhere to go."

Mrs Pursell's gravest problem is the building in Roodepoort she has used free of charge is to be let. She said: "We are desperate for premises. We have to move out by the

end of the year. We are already having to cover R10 000 of unpaid fees".

Those parents who can — and only about 40 percent do — pay R145 a month to cover tuition and travel.

Fortunately the South African Institute of Management, deciding this "black initiative project" was worthy of their support, has taken up their cause.

Despite daunting problems the Freedom School is a happy place of learning.

"We are desperately short of basic equipment and lots of the kids have no textbooks at all. But they are very keen to learn and always help to clean up on Friday afternoons," Mrs Pursell said.

The happy smiling faces of her keen young students — those who managed to get out of Soweto on yet another day of funerals — support her views.

"It's just not true they are a bunch of hooligans," she said. "I think 80 percent of the township kids really want to learn."

"We have very few discipline problems — surprising when you realise Soweto is riddled with drink, sex and drugs."

It depresses Mrs Pursell that her conscientious charges face so many handicaps in their education.

She said: "We have no facilities for sport for example — such a necessary part of school life. They have to play soccer in the road, and the other day the ball hit a SADF car and the guy got out and pulled a gun on one of my pupils".

And she points out another stu-

dious lass who was brutally raped in Hillbrow a couple of weeks ago.

"They daren't take their schoolbooks back to Soweto; they are always having their cases pinched."

"Their stock phrase is 'the situation is tense', which covers a multitude of things."

"We have to improvise with everything. We do science experiments in jam tins and manage to teach anatomy without a skeleton. When the school is flush with money I go out and buy a whole lot of equipment."

The venture started when Mrs Pursell was asked by a parent to give private tuition to a couple of children. "I am black," the female caller warned. "No problem, we'll start on Monday," promised the courageous Johannesburg teacher.

The two became 12, and when the number grew to 20 it was suggested Mrs Pursell open her own school.

A mother of three, Mrs Pursell works fulltime at the Freedom School, helped by nine teachers who work on a shift basis for R10 an hour.

Apart from teaching, she keeps the books, does the administration, pays the salaries and provides lunch for her students. She also provides a home for two of her pupils and hopes to find accommodation for others in the northern suburbs.

School is Monday to Friday 8 am to 4 pm for these diligent pupils and the only holidays they have had since February were the Soweto boycott days. "Then the kids are in danger of their lives," Mrs Pursell said.

## BRIEFS

KWAZULU SEEKS FREE PORT--Durban--The debate over the possibility of establishing a free port or export processing zone to serve the KwaZulu region has been boosted by a White Paper on Development Policy tabled in its Legislative Assembly recently. The White Paper, explained in detail in the latest KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation magazine, The Developer, points out that the first step towards a free port (in either Durban or Richards Bay) will be for the KwaZulu Government to improve channels of communication with central government to allow KwaZulu more input to macro-economic policy-making. The call for a free port comes in a section of the White Paper which deplores the fact that monetary, fiscal and economies policies have made little or no impact on regional growth in the past. The KwaZulu government, it says must now exercise its right as a regional authority to influence macro-economic policy. This influence should be used to: --Reduce fluctuations in economic activity to a minimum, making it easier for the private sector to plan future growth. --Encourage a pattern of economic development suitable for the needs of a wider South Africa. [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 p 8] /9274

CSO: 3400/18

## CONFLICT FOLLOWS DISCOVERY OF AIDS VIRUS AMONG FOREIGN MINERS

### Health Officials Pressing for Repatriation

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 24 Aug 86 p 14

[Article by Stephan Terblanche]

[Text]

HEALTH officials are pressing for the repatriation of thousands of migrant workers and illegal immigrants whom, they say, are carrying infectious diseases into South Africa and placing a huge burden on State medical services.

They argue that if neighbouring states impose economic sanctions on South Africa, the Government will have every justification for sending foreign workers home.

In support of this view, officials have assembled evidence that contagious diseases such as AIDS, malaria and cholera are being

carried by people from neighbouring states where preventative health services have all but collapsed.

The health threat comes at a time when the Manpower Minister, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has warned that foreigners would be repatriated to give job preference to South Africans if sanctions were introduced.

In 1985 it was found that 46 percent of traced malaria cases in the Barberton district came from Mozambique.

### Malawians Comprise Bulk of Virus Carriers

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 29 Aug 86 pp 1, 3

[Article by Claire Pickard-Cambridge and Max Du Preez]

[Text]

GOVERNMENT'S announcement of likely steps to repatriate Aids virus carriers conflicts sharply with a Chamber of Mines plan to retain them.

National Health and Population Development Minister Willie van Niekerk said yesterday the Departments of Foreign Affairs, Mineral and

Energy Affairs and Health, together with the Chamber of Mines, were giving "urgent attention to suitable steps to repatriate these identified workers".

Chamber of Mines industrial relations adviser Johann Liebenberg said, however, the industry had chosen the compassionate route of keeping on 130 affected employees.

He stressed that there were no proven cases of Aids in mining.

Preliminary findings from tests on 27 000 workers indicated that the identi-

fied workers, mostly Malawians, were simply carriers of a virus which may cause aids, the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

Liebenberg said he hoped government would not make it difficult for the chamber to retain affected employees who were being counselled about the disease.

It was not known how many HIV carriers would eventually get Aids.

If the chamber did not support affected workers it would be letting employees down.

Findings of a survey to establish the prevalence of the HIV virus in mining indicate that the presence of thousands of workers in single-sex hostels has not contributed to the spread of the disease.

The survey was done by the chamber and the SA Institute of Medical Research. It showed that the prevalence of HIV in mining was comparable to low-risk areas internationally, excluding employees from one high-risk country, Malawi.

Results indicated that 4% of the Malawian workers — who also comprise the bulk of the identified carriers — had been exposed to the virus.

Chamber spokesmen said the higher prevalence of the virus among Malawian employees appeared to indicate it had

been contracted in the workers' country of origin.

Casual contact with an infected person could not spread the virus and the chamber had concluded repatriation of infected miners was unlikely to have a significant impact on the spread of the disease in SA.

Instead, the Chamber has suggested that:

- ☐ No known HIV carriers should be engaged for work and that new recruits from Aids-prevalent areas be screened before being signed on;

- ☐ Patients suffering from sexually-transmitted diseases — a high risk group — should be tested routinely;

- ☐ Aids carriers should be clinically assessed and counselled and those fit to work will not be discharged;

- ☐ Services of clinically well HIV carriers who return home between contracts will not be terminated;

- ☐ Only when HIV- or AIDS-infected employees were clinically unfit for work should their services be terminated and they would then be repatriated on medical grounds.

Liebenberg said the only effective way to combat the spread of the virus was through major educational programmes on sexually-transmitted diseases.

#### Crisis Situation Said Not to Exist

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Joe Openshaw]

[Text]

The mining industry will take a humane and compassionate stance and continue to employ the 130 mineworkers found to be infected with the AIDS virus, Mr Johann Liebenberg, the industrial relations adviser to the Chamber of Mines, said in Johannesburg last night.

He was addressing a Press conference at which details of a Chamber of Mines survey to establish the prevalence of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) — the virus which can cause AIDS — among all races in the South African mining industry.

The survey was conducted with the co-operation of the Institute for Medical Research and the Department of Health.

Mr Liebenberg said the Chamber would embark on a

major education and counselling programme to teach infected miners how to live with the infection and how to prevent themselves falling prey to the frequently fatal opportunistic diseases to which HIV-positive people are extremely vulnerable.

"This is not a crisis situation," stressed Mr Liebenberg, who made the results of the survey — in which the blood of 26 525 miners were tested and 130 miners found to be infected with the AIDS or HIV, virus — available for publication. "There is not one proven case of AIDS on the mines."

Mr Liebenberg said homosexuality in the single-sex mine hostels has not contributed to the spread of the disease.

The Chamber says the spread of the virus will be controlled.

No known carriers of the AIDS virus will be engaged for work on the mines and new recruits from AIDS-prevalent areas will be screened.

All miners suffering from sexually transmitted diseases — a high risk group — will be tested routinely.

Employees who are AIDS carriers will be clinically assessed and those fit to work will not be discharged or repatriated.

Clinically well AIDS virus-infected workers who return home between contracts will not have their disease used as a pretext for terminating their contracts.

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 29 Aug 86 p 13

[Article by Sheryl Raine]

[Text]

The Chamber of Mines and the Government are at loggerheads over what to do about the 130 mine employees known to have been infected by the AIDS virus.

The Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk said yesterday that his Department and the Departments of Foreign Affairs and Mineral and Energy Affairs together with the Chamber are giving urgent attention to "suitable steps to repatriate the identified workers".

In addition, workers from foreign countries entering the country will be subjected to compulsory tests for AIDS.

The Chamber agreed that new recruits from foreign countries coming to work on South African mines should be screened for AIDS and prevented from working here if blood tests prove positive.

However, Chamber spokesmen said at a press conference yesterday they believed no carrier of the virus presently working in South Africa should be repatriated until such time as he is clinically unfit to render service.

Asked whether there is an ulterior motive behind the Government's desire to repatriate foreign AIDS carriers to reduce the number of foreigners employed in South Africa, Mr Johann Liebenberg, industrial relations adviser to the Chamber said: "We don't think the Government would want to use

this opportunity as a subterfuge for repatriating foreign workers."

So far none of the 130 carriers identified in the biggest survey of the virus ever done in Africa, have the disease. The Chamber has emphasized there is no AIDS scare.

The Chamber believes it would be inhumane to victimise the 130 carriers or to ostracise foreign workers who come from Malawi. The survey showed the prevalence of the AIDS virus among Malawians to be higher than in other workers.

There are about 20 000 Malawian mineworkers employed on the mines. Central Africa has been a known high-risk area for AIDS for several years.

The Chamber spelled out a policy of mass education and counselling for AIDS carriers and mine employees in general.

And it seems the Chamber has the majority of mining unions on its side in taking this sympathetic stand.

All of the black and white unions involved in the industry have been consulted and briefed on the results of the survey and future Chamber policies.

"The National Union of Mineworkers would not like to see infected workers repatriated," said Mr Liebenberg. "We

also met the Council of Mining Unions, which represents eight unions, and the comments we got from them indicated they definitely do not wish to see carriers repatriated."

Mr Robbie Botha of the Mine Surface Officials Association said his organisation welcomed the Chambers' education programme and was impressed with the employers' initiative.

"We do not feel workers should be repatriated if they are just carriers. If one extended the investigation beyond the mining industry one would find many AIDS carriers. There is nothing one can do about them. We should not be harsh about this. Intimate contact is needed to transmit the virus.

"We believe the Chamber's programme is a good one because it aims to keep the syndrome above board and will not drive it underground."

However, Dr Marius Barnard, the PF's health spokesman supported the repatriation of AIDS carriers.

He said: "AIDS is a most serious disease and I would expect the health authorities to take every opportunity to minimise the risk in South Africa. If there is any suspicion of non-South Africans with this transferable disease it is totally acceptable health practice to send them back to where they came from. It is also important to screen people coming into the country."

#### Network Debates Fate of Mineworkers With AIDS

AIDS, the sexually transmitted killer disease which has been discovered among 130 South African mineworkers, was a topic of discussion during the SABC television programme Network last night.

"We are faced with two choices," said Mr J Liebenberg, an industrial relations advisor. "We can either repatriate the affected workers or we can carry on employing them."

"I think we should adopt a compassionate view. To repatriate the workers would be to drive the disease underground.

"We need to look after the affected workers. We need to give them counsel on the subject," he said.

Dr George Watermeyer, Deputy General of Health, said the government was worried about the health of the economy.

"We have to try and keep the 'at risk' numbers as low as possible," he said, but added, towards the end of the programme, that the government was willing to enter into negotiation.

The government had "not made up its mind" whether or not to repatriate the workers, Dr Watermeyer said.

"African AIDS seems to be different to the strain found in other parts of the globe. Before making a final decision, we need to discuss the matter fully with all parties concerned."

Mr Liebenberg accepted Dr Watermeyer's offer regarding further talks.

Mr Jack Metz, representing the South African Institute for Medical Research, said that as many as 10 percent of South African men might be carriers of the virus.

He said stricter medical control of sexual habits was needed.

"Through education and counselling, we might be able to establish a sort of control over the disease," he said.

The panel discussion was chaired by regular Network presenter Mr John Bishop.

#### NUM Reaction to Government Statement

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 30 Aug 86 p 1

[Text] The National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) has reacted to a Government statement made yesterday threatening to repatriate all foreign workers found to be carriers of the HIV virus--which may lead to the development of AIDS. The union says single sex hostels must be done away with as they lend themselves prey to such diseases.

/9274

CSO; 3400/20

## MIXED REACTIONS TO GOVERNMENT PLAN FOR GREATER JOHANNESBURG

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 5 Sep 86 p 11

[Article by James Clarke]

[Text]

The Government has decided what to do with rebellious Greater Johannesburg — freeze it.

Apart from proposing to curb Johannesburg's development, it seeks to control entrepreneurial and residential growth throughout Central Witwatersrand. It feels the area is heading towards "congestion" and growth must be redirected to the Rustenburg-Pretoria-Middelburg axis.

In a 250-page report issued last month, "The Central Witwatersrand Draft Guide Plan", the Government recommends rigid, immutable zoning regulations. If the region ever gets regional government, its character will have already been indelibly drawn by the Government.

The report states that "it can be expected that the Central Witwatersrand will become less important within the broader national context... and that provision will have to be made for channelling new work opportunities to other favourably situated areas".

Other recommendations include:

- Because the committee found "there is not enough land" to expand townships to accommodate even the natural growth of the present black population, more and more

blacks will have to move out.

- No more industrial expansion will be allowed in Johannesburg.

- In the rest of the region, if a small industry becomes too successful it will be induced to move out.

- "No large-scale provision of industrial work opportunities is envisaged" in the interests of "the prevention of over-concentration".

- All future development on the Central Witwatersrand must conform to the Government's national development strategy of decentralisation.

Another aspect is that the Transvaal Administrator — nowadays a Government appointee beyond the reach of voters — will remain Johannesburg's boss of planning.

For instance, SATS will be able to develop its extensive properties as it sees fit, Escom will be able to design power lines and the province will be able to build highways "If, in the opinion of the Administrator", the developments are compatible with the Government's intentions.

The public has less than a month to object to the document. Once passed, it becomes binding on Government and private enterprise.

## BASIC BELIEFS

Planning critic Mr Conrad Berge commented: "The Government planners are fired by two basic beliefs — that physical planning can vindicate the Government's social policies and that good planning works from the top down."

The plan follows four years of meetings between bureaucrats and, towards the end, black township representatives.

The 2 000 sq km area of the Central Witwatersrand accommodates half the Rand's population and 18 percent of South Africa's population.

The Central Witwatersrand produces 18 percent of the Gross Geographic Product (GGP) and 27 percent of its tertiary output (finance, communication, etc). But, says the document, its role is declining because of "spontaneous deconcentration (and because of) the influence of Government measures to restrict industrial growth in the Central Witwatersrand".

The draft guide plan has been greeted with mixed emotions by planners. Many are outraged.

To me it reads like a Russian five-year plan.

In parts it appears to be a vague blueprint of how the Government intends to control

market forces and natural growth trends. If its suggestions are ratified, it could mean the economic sacrifice of the very region which largely financed 20th-century South Africa.

The report claims, again repeatedly, that Johannesburg must be saved from becoming "congested". Yet the report's population projections reveal that the metropolis would, by the end of the century, still be one of the world's least densely-populated urban regions.

New York City has treble this region's population in half the space. Greater London has nearly treble in 25 percent less space.

The report expects the population of the region to reach 3 733 250 by the year 2000. Some demographers will argue it is already nearly that. The report concedes "the aforementioned estimates are regarded as conservative in some quarters".

#### **MULTI-NODAL**

According to the report, Johannesburg — target for most of the more stringent controls — provides 66 percent of the job opportunities in the Central Witwatersrand area.

It sees the future role of the Central Witwatersrand as being a multi-nodal commercial (tertiary) region, but which will, nevertheless, have to find jobs for just over 1 million new workers between now and 2000.

But it adds: "No large scale provision of industrial work opportunities is envisaged."

Among the "objectives" listed in the guide plan are:

- "The relative levelling off of growth (as regards both population and employment) in the area in order to bring about a more even national distribution pattern, but without detracting from the key role played by the Central Witwatersrand in a national and regional context."

- "The elimination of over-population and congestion, and the effective combatting of pollution."

- "The creation of sufficient work opportunities ... within

the framework of national development policy."

The aim is to divert growth to the Rustenburg-Pretoria-Middelburg axis. Other areas to be favoured are Brits, Rosslyn and Bronkhorstspuit.

The report says the Government would allow the Central Witwatersrand to create "light industries and service industries on the borders of the larger black townships". The idea, it says, is to broaden the economic base of these towns and provide work within easy distance of black residents.

Although the report advocates greater residential densities and more strategic public transport, it states that "care must be taken" not to allow public transport systems to "increase the load on various core areas, thereby hampering the de-concentration process".

Despite the region's wealth being taken away from it, the Government accepts that the region "will continue to grow and provision will have to be made for the controlled creation of employment opportunities in this area".

It says that in channelling growth away from the region it is "important to take into account the investment already made in respect of infrastructure in this area, and in particular in the Johannesburg city centre".

#### **THREE AXES**

It sees "second order cores" (as opposed to the "first order core" of Johannesburg's CBD) becoming established in, namely, Liefde-en-Vrede and Randburg.

The report identifies three axes of development in the region:

- The mining belt.

- A belt which follows the railway from Pretoria through Tembisa, Kempton Park, Germiston, Alberton, Tokoza and Katlehong.

- A development axis from

Pretoria through Midrand, Sandton, the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, the city centre, and then south-westwards via Soweto, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville and Eldorado Park to Lenasia and Ennerdale.

It wants future development confined to these belts and "deliberate development of suitable points on these axes in order to also put the black residential areas within easy reach of centres of activities.

On the question of industrial growth it says: "there is no real need to make additional industrial land available" — except "limited areas ... for light and service industries in, and adjacent to, Dobsonville, Diepmeadow and Soweto, Tokoza, Katlehong, Lenasia and Ennerdale to provide for the local needs of the various communities.

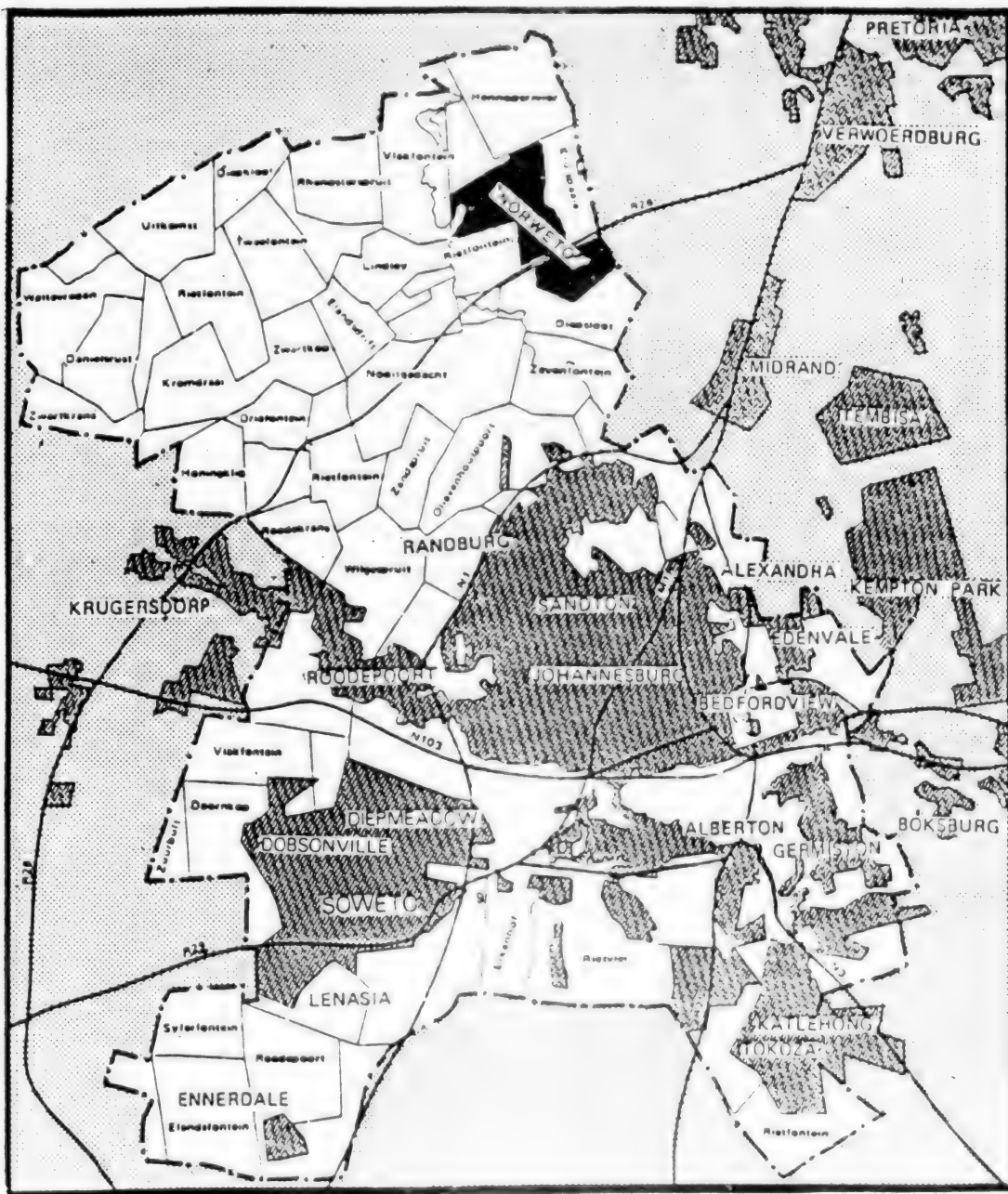
#### **LEVELLING OFF**

On black residential expansion it says: "Although the growth rate of the black population of the area is expected to level off in future, it will be necessary to make available additional land for township development in order to accommodate the foreseeable black population increase."

Within the guide plan area itself there is, however, little space available for this purpose. It proposes a large township in the northeast, already dubbed "Norweto".

"Only a part of the needs for township development for black people can be met (by these proposals) because there is not yet sufficient suitable land available in the guide plan area to accommodate the needs of the expected natural increase in the black population".

"The guide plan committee is therefore of the opinion ... (that) provision for township development for black people should be made outside the boundaries of the guide plan area."



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CSO: 3400/15

## CORRESPONDENT REVIEWS ACHIEVEMENTS OF TRICAMERAL PARLIAMENT

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 6 Sep 86 p 10

[Article by Dirk van Zyl]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN — With the tricameral Parliament having reached its second anniversary this week, the question must be asked: has it been a worthwhile exercise?

The answer cannot be an unqualified yes or no.

On the plus side, from the point of view of those accepting that a non-racial democracy is the only guarantee for peace in South Africa, it could be argued that at least some people of colour have been brought into Parliament. This, it could be argued, represents some movement in the desired direction.

The interaction between the coloureds and Indians and white MPs — and here one thinks particularly of Afrikaner Nationalists of various persuasions — has without doubt broken down some of the traditional racial prejudices, and opened lines of communication.

This is generally acknowledged by MPs of all parties as having been a particularly positive aspect of the joint standing committees, where consensus is sought on proposed legislation.

It could be argued fur-

ther that since the inauguration of the tricameral Parliament a number of racial laws have been scrapped.

These include the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and, of course, the pass laws.

On the other hand the new constitution, with its tricameral Parliament and executive State President, has failed to come to terms with the central issue of broadening democracy — accommodating the political aspirations of the majority of South Africans.

This flaw was obvious from the start, and led to the founding of the United Democratic Front to fight the plan outside Parliament. Opposition groups also stressed this failing in the 1983 referendum, but the majority of white voters went along with the scheme, believing it would be the start of better things to come.

As Parliament adjourned its 1986 session yesterday, progress towards overcoming the system's major fault remained woefully lacking.

Indeed, the warning of

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former Leader of the Opposition, during the referendum campaign that the new constitution would lead to escalating violence has, tragically, been borne out. The Government, although it claims to be engaged in "extended negotiations" with black leaders, has not even been able to persuade moderate organisations and individuals like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) and the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa) to agree to participate in its mooted National Statutory Council.

Their demand is straightforward: there can be no participation in the council, which the Government says is a vehicle for bringing blacks into Government at the highest level, until Nelson Mandela is released and the African National Congress is unbanned.

It seems the Government has painted itself into a corner by convincing its followers that the ANC is beyond the pale.

Any informed observer

knows that until negotiations start between the country's two biggest nationalist movements — the Nationalist Government and the ANC — the prospects of breaking the political deadlock will remain almost nil.

Here it is worth recalling the words of Dr Slabbert in his resignation speech in the House of Assembly in February:

"I am afraid that this Government — I do not say this in an acrimonious sense — does not understand the principles of negotiation, or, if they do, they do not abide by them.

"The dismantling of apartheid has nothing to do with negotiation. It is simply the first step towards negotiation. Apartheid is not up for negotiation. It has to go completely. What is up for negotiation is its alternative."

The Government has not yet grasped the nettle. This is illustrated only too well by the "own affairs" and "general affairs" arrangement underpinning the current system of government.

The Opposition accused the Government this week of itself undermining the standing of the tricameral Parliament by bringing the whole parliamentary machinery back into operation for a three-week resumed session at an estimated cost of R20 million, to discuss largely minor legislation.

And the way it got two controversial security Bills passed by the President's Council in June after two of the Houses had rejected them did not help the system's credibility, either.

For the Labour Party, particularly, this procedure has created major problems about whether to continue participating in the tricameral Parlia-

ment.

The LP has said it will seriously consider its position at its national congress in Port Elizabeth in January, after it had initially said such a review would take place in 1989 — five years after the institution of the new constitution.

The party and others holding similar views are increasingly frustrated at apartheid cornerstones like the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act (race classification) remaining intact.

And the continuing existence of these laws is, of course, a fundamental cause of the Government's reform programme failing to grip the imagination of the majority of South Africans — especially blacks — and, indeed, of the world.

People subjected to the provisions of a law which confines them to living in impoverished townships and denies them access to facilities enjoyed by their more affluent countrymen can hardly be blamed for being unenthusiastic about "reform".

On a functional level, the tricameral Parliament has shown itself to be cumbersome, with its inherent triplication of debates and other activities.

There will be an improvement on this score, at least, when a recommendation of the joint standing committee on Rules and Orders for joint debates on certain issues is implemented in the new chamber due for completion in the second half of next year.

These joint debates will probably start only in 1988.

Perhaps the new debating chamber will help open the way for the country to address its fundamental problem more effectively, but the question is: does South Africa have that kind of time left?

## SLABBERT CRITICIZES LATEST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Sep 86 p 6

[Article by Frederik van Zyl Slabbert]

[Text]

TOWARDS the end of the latest session of Parliament the whole process seemed to seize up like a car whose pistons refused to pump anymore. And that after we were given to expect that this extra session was going to be a "crucial one," with government tabling critical Bills about the constitutional future of the country.

Earlier on in the year there was speculation that the special federal congress of the National Party would clear the decks for government to use this extra session of Parliament to put us all into a new gearshift towards the future.

Instead, government came to Parliament with precious little to say and nothing to offer, and all opposition parties agreed the situation was a farce and refused to give their co-operation.

The deadlock was resolved by government agreeing to a special debate on the killings in Soweto and then closing shop. That was it.

## Legend

The constitutional paradox which has always been part of Parliament in SA is now fully matured and cannot be resolved by hoping for a miracle to emanate from the ritual of parliamentary procedure itself.

It is this: the enduring legend of parliamentary government is that it is representative government,

reflecting the will of those governed and calling to account those who exercise this mandate.

The social conditions under which this has to take place must allow for freedom of organisation, movement and speech and the rules of the game must allow for fair competition between the contending parties vying for the support of the electorate.

The paradox in SA is that those representatives in Parliament spend a great deal of time making laws and allocating resources that vitally affect the lives of the vast majority of people who did not, would not and cannot elect them to do it.

How to resolve this paradox? Obviously by extending constitutional government. But how to do that?

This is where the rub lies and that is where, I fear, the reason is to be found for Parliament uncereemoniously spluttering to a standstill.

The man who has the formal job of resolving the paradox is, of course, Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis.

The manner in which he apparently chooses to resolve this paradox, as well as the circumstances in which he has to do so, make it impossible for him and his government to be successful.

To understate the point, I think it is highly unlikely that constitutional government in SA can be suc-

cessfully extended if the social circumstances which have to make this possible are absent or deliberately undermined.

Consider the following: since 1984 we have a Parliament whose sovereignty, to say the least, is ambiguous, if not diffuse.

Most of us rightfully suspect that final authority rests with an executive President who governs with a security establishment and where both are not subject to accountable parliamentary procedures for all their actions.

Major political organisations who cannot be represented in Parliament are banned and their leadership detained or in prison, and those who would wish to demonstrate their support for them or for their organisations outside of Parliament do not have freedom of organisation, movement or speech and government has passed security laws giving itself the discretion to maintain or impose these conditions as it sees fit.

## Predefined

Against this background enters Chris Heunis, determined to respect democratic procedures, promote negotiations and to seek consensus.

But, he says, those who wish to enjoy the benefit of having constitutional government extended to them must accept that they can

only do so within the involuntary context of a predefined racial group — i.e., as a legally classified coloured, Asian, black and white, and, furthermore, must participate only within those racial constitutional structures which Heunis and his government have created.

Once they are prepared to do so, they are free to negotiate about their constitutional niche in society. The latest offering is called a National Statutory Council, with the State President himself as Chairman, no less.

The Bill that was going to give legislative content to this constitutional gem was what the extra session of Parliament was called for.

But Heunis did not table the Bill, because those who were supposed to debate it did not represent those who were going to be affected by it, could not care less and were definitely not interested in the manner in which Heunis and his government were interested in extending constitutional government.

Government is determined to resolve the paradox of Parliament by compounding it. Instead of extending constitutional government by creating circumstances in which consent can be demonstrated, they are deliberately making the manifestation of consent impossible.

They insist that they want to talk to "real leaders," but will not allow "real leaders" to lead. The more they arrest, detain and ban the more they demand that people come forward and talk.

Because they have destroyed consent, they perforce have to rely on coercion and co-option. And

those who are prepared to be co-opted under conditions of coercion are as useless for successfully extending constitutional government as those who have to decide for people they do not represent.

That is why the pistons of Parliament have seized.

## Self-delusion

Parliamentary government, when functioning properly, reflects the social conditions of society in which such a government is possible.

To demand that Parliament be Parliament in social circumstances which contradict the very nature of Parliament is the same as comforting oneself with self-delusion.

But to furthermore insist that such a Parliament under such circumstances can be an effective instrument to extend constitutional government is to make of self-delusion an incurable pathology.

PFP CLAIMS MORE SUPPORT THAN POLLS INDICATE

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by John MacLennan]

[Text] The Progressive Federal Party says that 40 percent of whites support the party but only 20 percent are prepared to vote for it during elections.

This is because people see the party as being overly critical, and they don't know what its alternatives are.

Women, especially, are so put off by news of violence and unrest that they are unwilling to read newspapers--the party's main avenue of presenting its views to the public.

These and other conclusions have emerged from a PFP analysis of various independent surveys and form the basis of the party's first complete and long-term strategy aimed at taking power.

The struggling Progressive Party worked initially at securing Mrs Helen Suzman's platform in Parliament.

It did this successfully and then went for its next target -- to become the official Opposition.

It achieved this and is now polishing up its strategy for the next logical task ... becoming the Government.

The main reason for the lack of support from women is that events of the past 18 months have made them uncertain and most concerned with personal security.

They are also loath to read newspapers because of the daily diet of death and destruction. They therefore miss out on the PFP's alternatives for a new tomorrow.

The party estimates that fewer than 50 percent of women read newspapers regularly.

They do watch TV, but the party does not receive adequate opportunity to air its views through this medium.

Other features pinpointed in the analysis include the fact that the Government is paralysed because it has a completely "incoherent" power-base.

On a question such as whether hospitals should be open to all races, the PFP is able to depend on an unequivocal "yes" of 87 percent.

The NP supporters, by contrast, registered 46 percent "yes", 32 percent "no" and 22 percent "don't know".

The same divisive pattern is seen among NP supporters on other issues and leads the PFP's Mr Ken Andrew — chairman of the party's federal council — to remark that the NP is in "dead trouble" because, on almost any issue, it is unable to speak with a clear voice.

The NP, he says, has been able to be all things to all people, but under pressure it will face major splits.

"The Government is making an enormous mess by any yardstick and we have a marvelous chance of picking up

disenchanted voters who supported the NP before.

"We don't have to change people's attitudes. We merely have to get people who share our attitudes to support us.

"For the first time in 10 years the PFP really has a strategy and knows where it is going.

"At the same time we have the management people, we have more money and we have the skills."

The immediate aim of the party is to secure 50 to 55 seats in the House of Assembly.

This will make it a real contender for power in the eyes of the so-called New Nats who are said to number some 35.

With the help of these dissidents — either as members of the PFP or in coalition — the PFP could take power.

/9274

CSO: 3400/5

## IMPOVERISHED WHITES RECEIVING 'MASSIVE' AID FROM RIGHT WING

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 2 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Hannes de Wet and Andre du Toit]

[Text]

The Government is providing food aid to an average of 95 000 people a month in a massive fight against poverty among people of all population groups.

And the AWB has launched its own mercy mission to aid needy white children, especially Afrikaners.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk is involved in similar relief efforts.

Dr Colin Cameron, co-ordinator of the Emergency Feeding Scheme of the Department of National Health and Population Development, said:

"In July, we helped 17 000 families — which amounted to 95 000 people. This is a fair reflection of the monthly average."

Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, claimed yesterday his movement was the main force behind aid to destitute white families. The primary goal of the AWB initiative was to provide relief to Afrikaner children — although other white children also qualified.

The scheme includes help to people in the drought-stricken areas of the Western Transvaal.

## R35 000 SET ASIDE

At Groot Marico, the manager of the local farmers' co-operative, Mr Jaap Coetzee, said farmers from Groot Marico up to Lichtenburg were sending food to the Witwatersrand.

The assistant-secretary of the Commission for Social Services of the NGK, Mrs J H Mollet, said that in the first three months this year, R35 000 was budgeted for food to the needy.

"A total of 2 000 people older than 10 years and a thousand under the age of 10 were provided with food," she said.

The general secretary of the AWB, Mr Willem Olivier, said: "During the past few months, there has been a definite increase in poverty in the Transvaal and Free State — and the indications are that the situation will get worse."

According to him, the aid included clothes.

Calling on other organisations and institutions to help, Mr TerreBlanche told *The Star*: "We cannot keep on looking after the country's children alone."

He also made a plea to the Government to introduce a levy on gold and platinum exports.

## JOB OPPORTUNITIES

"Due to the current exchange rate, South African gold and platinum are achieving unrealistic prices. The result is that mining houses are making a fortune while more and more people are getting poorer," he claimed.

"A levy on every ounce of gold sold will mean billions of rands that could be used to create job opportunities," Mr TerreBlanche said.

According to a survey conducted by *The Star* on the Witwatersrand and the Transvaal platteland, farmers were donating produce on a regular basis.

"I'm getting 40 dozen eggs a week from Benoni, milk from Heilbron and vegetables from Marble Hall," said Mrs Swannie Swanepoel, who runs a daily soup kitchen for children in Mayfair, Fordsburg, Cottesloe and Jan Hofmeyer.

She said she was feeding 300 children and a number of adults every day.

In the Zeerust district, one of the worst-hit drought areas in Transvaal, AWB members are involved in running soup kitchens.

The Conservative Party is also said to be planning aid.

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CSO: 3400/15

## WHITES URGED TO ACKNOWLEDGE AFRICAN IDENTITY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Sep 86 p 19

[Text]

Failure by white South Africans to accept and understand their African identity could put them in danger of becoming aliens in their own land.

This warning was sounded by Mr Neil van Heerden, the deputy director-general of foreign affairs, in an address at Pretoria University.

White South Africans often gave dubious acknowledgment to their African identity, said Mr van Heerden.

He said he did not wish to deny the European and Western heritage of white civilisation in South Africa.

"But if it separates us from the indisputable realities of the world in which we live in Africa then we run the danger of becoming aliens in our own land."

Mr van Heerden asked whether South Africans should not do more to make their acceptance of their African identity complete.

"We have indeed become one with our physical environment, but what of our human environment?"

Was not the unrest in the country due partly to the incompleteness of the whites' identification with this environment?

**OPPORTUNITY**

Their best opportunity for survival and therefore their biggest challenge lay in achieving the

greatest possible harmony across community boundaries so a dispensation could be created that would be accepted by the majority, he said.

While protecting and extending their own values whites must also know and respect the values of the different black communities.

He asked whether whites read black newspapers and magazines, visited black residential areas, asked themselves how blacks spent their holidays or thought about whether they would get pensions in their old age.

"Rather than becoming fixed in negative stereotypes of each other — which often amount to nothing less than naked racism — we must search for that which we have in common."

Mr van Heerden called for whites to abandon racism not because the outside world demanded it but because this was an investment in the future.

Whites, he said, must appreciate the blacks' yearning for political participation.

With its own house based on strong foundations, South Africa would be in a position successfully to carry out its regional responsibilities in the subcontinent, he said.

"And for this very reason it is important that our African identification be complete".

ASIAN STUDENTS IN WHITE SCHOOLS TO NEED SPECIAL PERMISSION

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kitt Katzin]

[Text] In an astonishing move that has sent shock waves through the education profession, the Government has decided that hundreds of Chinese and a smaller number of Japanese children will in future need special permission to enroll at white State schools in South Africa.

The decision by the Department of Education and Culture reimposes a ruling made several years ago and will be strictly enforced by the provincial departments of education.

It appears from a directive by the Transvaal Education Department (TED) obtained by The Sunday Star, that all Chinese and Japanese pupils will as from now be compelled to apply in writing to be admitted to Government schools.

The bombshell disclosure comes in the wake of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's diplomatic shuffle to the Far East to woo the Japanese government and others, and to persuade them to hold off on sanctions against South Africa.

In terms of the new directive which relates to the Transvaal, the Director of Education will have sole discretion in approving or rejecting admission applications from Chinese and Japanese pupils.

The ruling, however, has been extended to all provinces, and applied to enrollment at both primary and high schools.

It also applies to Chinese and Japanese pupils already attending Government primary schools who are due, with thousands of fellow-SA pupils, to enter provincial high schools.

They, too, will have to apply to the Director of Education for admission through the principals of the schools concerned.

Pupils already posted to high schools will not be affected and will write matric.

Several hundred Chinese and a growing number of Japanese have attended Government schools in Johannesburg and other centres for many years

without applying to any provincial education department.

However, in terms of the latest directive — a clear reversal of policy going back to the 1970s when permission for Asians to attend State schools had to be sought — the Government has confirmed fears that it is serious about its hardline education policy.

It has left no doubt, say informed sources, that it intends to apply school apartheid in its strictest and broadest sense.

Yet, this aside, and apart from the blow it will have to the credibility of the Government's reform initiatives, top educationists expressed astonishment at the political hypocrisy surrounding the timing and motive of the ruling.

How, they ask, can the Government discriminate against Chinese and Japanese at the very time Mr Pik Botha pleads with Japan, on the one hand, not to impose sanctions, and coerces Taiwan, on the other, to increase trade with SA?

And compounding the anomaly is the fact that the Japanese and Chinese schools in Johannesburg are situated in white residential suburbs.

The Chinese School — itself a Government school and run by the TED — is in Bramley Park, Sandton, and the Japanese School, funded by the Japanese Government and run privately, is in Emmarentia.

The new TED ruling was included in a confidential directive — the newest "Manual on General School Organisation", dated April 10, 1988.

Under a sub-heading, Admission of Chinese and Japanese pupils to provincial schools, it

has this to say:

(1) "Only the Director of Education may approve the admission of Japanese and Chinese pupils to provincial schools.

(2) "Applications to admit these pupils should be directed through the principal of the school concerned to the Director for his decision."

In subsequent briefings to principals, TED inspectors have made it clear that the ruling is to be strictly enforced and that it applies to all Chinese and Japanese pupils, including those graduating from Government primary schools to high schools.

The Sunday Star asked Mr Piet Claes, the Minister of Education and Culture (white education) in the House of Assembly, to comment.

In response, Mr J D V Terblanche, chief executive director of the Department of Education and Culture, issued a brief statement in which he confirmed the ruling had been made.

It said: "This arrangement has been standard procedure for some time and has proved no restriction to the admission of pupils concerned."

Asked if it applied to all provinces, Mr Terblanche said it did, and to primary schools as well, but that no problems had been experienced.

He would not say why, if there had been no problems, it had been necessary to reimpose the restriction.

He was told his statement was inadequate, but flatly refused to discuss it further or say if the ruling would be strictly applied.

"I have given you my comment and I have nothing to add," he said.

Dr P H Bredenkamp, Director of the TED, said that since The Sunday Star had made inquiries at a higher level, he had no comment.

Meanwhile, opposition to the

measure is growing and educationists are demanding that it be scrapped.

Several headmasters in the Transvaal are known to be bitterly unhappy, but say they are unable to comment.

Yesterday, PFP Education spokesman Mr Horace van Rensburg said he was appalled to hear of the decision, and warned that it would lead to deep resentment among all communities and damage SA's image abroad.

Informed sources say that it is clear that the ruling is aimed at reinforcing separate education in the narrowest sense, even if it means removing Chinese and Japanese pupils, let alone Asians or coloureds, from so-called white schools.

The Sunday Star was told that for the past few years, Chinese and Japanese pupils coming through Government primary schools had no problem entering high schools.

The most frightening aspect of all, said one source, was that the fate of these pupils would now lie in the hands of one person, the provincial Director of Education.

Inquiries show that, in the case of the Transvaal, several hundred Chinese pupils are enrolled at Government schools.

In the case of Japanese pupils, some are at Blairgowrie and Emmarentia Primary Schools, and at least two high schools. A few are at private schools.

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CSO: 3400/5

## INDIAN TEACHERS' COLLEGE TO BE OPEN TO BLACKS

Durban POST NATAL in English 10-13 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Khalil Aniff]

[Text]

BLACK matriculants will in future be able to enrol for a teacher-training course at Springfield College of Education.

The decision to open Springfield to blacks was confirmed yesterday by Mr Arnichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council, who said discussions had already been held between the Indian Minister of Education, Mr Kassie Ramduth, and KwaZulu's Education Minister, Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

Further discussions are due to be held soon.

Neither Dr Dhlomo nor his education secretary, Mr John Zimu, was available for comment.

The move to mix at Springfield follows the opening of Indian schools to black pupils. Many have already enrolled at Indian schools but the exact number could not be obtained yesterday.

Mr Rajbansi said his

Council's decision had been conveyed to the KwaZulu Government.

He said when black teachers qualified they would return to take up posts at their schools.

"There is a great shortage of properly qualified teachers in black schools and this will help alleviate their teaching problems," he said.

Black teachers will not, however, be allowed to teach at Indian schools because of prohibitions under the Education Act.

Mr Rajbansi said it would be a good idea for blacks to teach in Indian schools and vice versa, but Education Act regulations would not allow this yet.

"Inter-relations between Indians and blacks must not be confined only to the classrooms — they must extend beyond and spread on to the sportsfields and other facets of life.

"I believe there must be a form of partnership between Indian and black schools," Mr Rajbansi said.

Mr Pat Samuels, president of the Teachers' Association of South Africa, welcomed the new development but regarded it as "tokenism".

"There is no need for the College to be open to blacks only. It must be open to all South Africans," he said, adding that TASA believed education should be a general affair.

Mr Samuels said 33 000 blacks matriculated last year compared with 6 000 Indians, but the majority of them did not pursue careers because they did not have the opportunity to do so.

"The quota system for admission should not apply and trainee teachers should be accepted on merit.

"It goes without say-

ing that black schools need qualified teachers more than anyone else. They have the potential but lack opportunities."

Mr Samuels said he believed blacks would be as good as any other teachers provided they had the facilities and opportunities.

"Colleges such as Edgewood, Springfield, Laudium, and the various universities must open their doors and encourage more teacher-training at such institutions."

Meanwhile, TASA resolved at its national council meeting in Durban at the weekend to call on the Government to open all tertiary institutions, including colleges of education, to all South Africans.

It rejected the proposed multi-million rand teacher training college at Cato Manor, dismissing it as an Indians-only college.

## PROFESSOR WELCOMES NEW APPROACH TO TEACHING HISTORY

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 12 Sep 86 p 6

[Article by Hermann Giliomee, professor of politics at the University of Cape Town]

[Text]

**T**HE ALARMING fiasco of the recent short session of Parliament confirms the impression that government has fallen far behind in its attempt to give some institutional form to the turbulent processes of change in our society.

To discern the changing contours of SA one increasingly has to look to new developments in areas such as capital-labour relations, the educational system and the extra-parliamentary movement.

A significant indicator of social change in any society is what may superficially appear to be a rather mundane matter — the syllabuses for school history.

After more than 10 years of the same syllabus, all government schools in SA are in the process of introducing new history syllabuses for Standards 5 to 10. New syllabuses for Standards 5 to 8 are being introduced this year, the new Standard 9 syllabus next year and the one for Matric in 1987.

The new syllabuses were finalised in 1983 by the Joint Matriculation Board, on which all the universities and the head of state's education departments are represented.

Since Afrikaner nationalists control the political system they have a decisive say in the historical truths selected for posterity in SA.

**T**he historian Leonard Thompson notes in his new study — "The Political Mythology of Apartheid" (Yale University Press) — that the textbooks strongly reflected the two dominant themes of Afrikaner nationalist ideology.

The first theme is the Afrikaner liberation from British (or South African English) domination in the political, economic and cultural spheres.

Accordingly, the text books have given prominence not only to the Afrikaner Wars of Independence and the Great Trek but also to obscure events such as the rebellions at Graaff Reinet and Slagtersnek in 1795 and 1815 respectively.

The second theme is the racist theme — the idea that the Europeans are superior and that the different races are incompatible. In the last two decades this has been supplanted by an updated variant: SA is comprised of "separate nations" with profoundly different "cultures".

Even the more sophisticated versions tell a story in which whites make the history and maintain their identity, while the other groups merely respond or make their own separate ethnic histories in a very minor key.

In a study analysing the current secondary school textbooks (which

are now due to be replaced), a Potchefstroom graduate, Johanna du Preez, found that they were riddled with what she calls 12 master symbols.

**H**er list starts with the following four:

- ☐ Legitimate authority is not questioned;
- ☐ Whites are superior, blacks are inferior;
- ☐ The Afrikaner has a special relationship with God; and
- ☐ SA rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner.

It is little wonder that children in all the black groups have in recent years angrily rejected the "official" version of history, up to the point of burning text books.

Not surprisingly, "People's History" is a key subject included in the general demand for an alternative "People's Education".

The black, coloured and Indian education authorities have warned unofficially that any textbooks which contain a hint of racism, or even unacceptable terminology, will be rejected.

**B**ut even in white schools the "official" school history has come to be seen as unproductive or even counter-productive.

In English-medium schools the brighter children are turning away in great numbers from a history which they consider as having little relevance to the kind of future they will face.

In Afrikaans schools a similar trend is evident, but here there is also another concern. Studies have shown that the preparation of Afrikaner youth for political participation — and in this history plays a vital part — is producing a culture of extreme political isolation.

In 1985, studies by RAU scholars Hennie Kotze and Susan Kotze concluded that Afrikaner youth have a "pre-occupation with internal trivialities at the expense of developing a consciousness of the issues pertaining to SA at large".

Lawrence Schlemmer showed that the Afrikaner youth did not attribute the black uprising of 1976 to real grievances but rather to artificial causes or the role of agitators.

It is on this kind of political isolation and incomprehension that the Conservative Party and other parties of the far Right can capitalise when new unrest flares up.

At the recent Free State NP Congress, Piet Clase, Minister of Education and Culture, expressed concern about the lack of "political literacy" among white pupils.

**A**ccordingly, he has launched an investigation into the possibility of introducing political science as a subject or sub-division at school.

This kind of thinking would never have occurred if history at school had served its primary educational function — namely, to prepare the youth for participation in the life of their society. It is against this background that the new syllabuses are being introduced.

While the syllabuses for higher school standards are still preoccupied [paragraph ends here].

The themes of "reaction" and "extra-parliamentary activity," with reference to the National

Convention and to government's racial policies after 1948, are included for the first time.

The introduction of the theme of "extra-parliamentary" activity implicitly contradicts the old notion of single, legitimate authority.

This opens the way for a proper discussion of the history of the African National Congress since 1922 and of the dynamics of our politics beyond the activities of the white political parties.

In the new syllabuses there is also a welcome new emphasis on economic history, which will enable history teachers to introduce two key actors to their pupils — namely, the business and the black workers class.

It can teach through history a lesson which whites are painfully learning today — that history is not only being made by the politically powerful but perhaps even more importantly by the poor and the underprivileged.

**T**he great American educationist John Dewey had a point when he said that economic history is more democratic than political history.

Whites still consider themselves as the core of the South African nation. This is still barely conceivable today, when there are about five-million whites to more than 30-million blacks.

But black numbers are projected to rise to 50-million by the year 2000 and 80-million by the year 2020. Some genuinely multi-racial centre will have to be found if our society is not to disintegrate like that of Lebanon.

To build such a multi-racial centre it is crucially important to teach the youth a history which will prepare them for a quite different future. The new syllabuses provides openings for enterprising teachers and textbook publishers to embark on such a venture.

GOOD PROSPECTS FOR INDIAN BUSINESS IN ORANGE FREE STATE

Durban POST NATAL in English 10-13 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Bobby Harrypersadh]

[Text]

INDIAN business near Bloemfontein is set to boom as industrialists prepare to move into the country's most conservative white stronghold.

And accommodation in the white rightwing city appears to be the least of the problems.

Helping to assist businessmen making their move and setting up their companies is Verulam industrialist Mr Iqbal Mahomed, who is Natal manager of the South African Development Trust Corporation.

Job opportunities for thousands of workers will be provided when the factories are established in Botshabelo, which has been earmarked as a QwaQwa border town near Bloemfontein.

One factory is almost ready for production, another two are concluding arrangements to make the move and 16 more industrial applications are being processed.

Massive decentralisation benefits are luring many companies overburdened with high overheads and labour costs to the Free State.

Development manager for the Bloemfontein City Council, Mr Neils Boo-

sen, said: "Indians will be welcomed here, as has already been done in the town itself. Representatives of at least three Indian firms are staying in hotels or rented homes.

"Eventually when the Group Areas Act is scrapped, they will be able to buy homes here.

"No matter what people may say, the Bloemfontein City Council's official decision is that Indians may stay anywhere.

"Asian industrialists — from Taiwan — have

been staying in Bloemfontein for some time now."

Mr Booysen said many Indians found it convenient to stay at Thaba Ntshu which is close to the industrial area.

Mr Mahomed, who was among the first industrialists to set up a factory in Isithebe near Eshowe, said he had been responsible for assisting Indian firms — such as Lockhats who were provisionally liquidated in Durban some months ago — to move into Botshabelo.

The Paruk family, who also have clothing factories in Durban, may also be moving to the area.

Mr Mahomed said: "I have been going to the Free State fairly regularly in the course of my work for the past three years, and in my experience, the people there have been friendly and helpful."

## RAPIDLY CHANGING FACE OF NATION'S LABOR MOVEMENT DESCRIBED

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 12-18 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Moira Levy]

[Text]

RECENT shifts and disaffiliations by a number of local trade unions are changing the face of the South African labour movement.

Major realignments are already taking place, with the steady decline of the former labour giant, the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa), and the proposed merger next month of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa).

The planned new federation has publicly claimed it will have the support of 500 000 members, the equivalent of the largest existing federation in the country, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

However, labour researchers at the University of Cape Town have estimated that together Cusa and Azactu combined have more like 250 000 members. Last year Cusa lost its largest affiliate, the 100 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers, to Cosatu.

The proposed new body is expected to endorse a policy of nonracialism, together with black trade union leadership. The proposed new federation has gone on record as saying it does not see itself as an alternative to Cosatu. Relations between the two labour giants will "remain sound", according to Azactu co-ordinator P Nefolovhodwe.

It seems likely the new federation, like Cosatu, will blur the divide

between political and factory floor issues. "We have never seen a difference between life in the factories and life in the ghettos," Nefolovhodwe said.

Tucsa's reluctance to tackle political issues publicly has lost it significant support in recent years. The growing politicisation of South African trade unionism has, according to acting Tucsa president Robbie Botha, had some part to play in the federation's steady decline.

The largest trade union federation in the country until Cosatu was launched in December 1985, Tucsa has experienced a serious decline in recent years. Membership has more than halved since its heyday in 1983 when Tucsa had 57 affiliated unions representing a total of 478 420 workers. In the past year, eight trade unions have withdrawn from Tucsa; in August, its membership had dropped to about 275 000.

The subject of the federation's decline in membership and support was expected to be discussed at an emergency meeting of Tucsa's national executive, scheduled this week to plan policy after the cancellation of Tucsa's annual conference.

According to Botha, the conference was cancelled at the last minute because affiliate unions could not afford to send full delegations, but observers believe the move is indicative of the federation's growing financial and organisational difficulties.

Tucsa is losing members from both ends of the political spectrum. Rightwing unions have disaffiliated because they fear the federation is no longer protecting white collar workers. Other unions are disenchanted with what they see as the federation's failure to state its opposition to government policy clearly.

Botha is indignant about criticism of Tucsa's multiracial, as opposed to nonracial, policy. "Some say we are not fighting the policy of apartheid. Others say we are ineffective, notwithstanding all that Tucsa has done over the past few years for labour, both nationally and internationally."

To some extent, he agrees Tucsa's declining fortunes are the product of growing politicisation in the labour movement and impatience with the federation's commitment to factory floor issues.

"There is growing polarisation in the political sphere between the extreme Right and the extreme Left. I have heard whisperings of black unionists who feel Tucsa is controlled by whites, although I don't know how they can say that. They do participate in elections once a year."

Botha believes Tucsa will weather the crisis. "We have survived many crises in the past. Tucsa is intent on surviving. We will pick up the pieces where they fall."

In the latest blow, the more than 50 000-strong Garment Workers Union of the Western Province (GWUWP) announced that at its general meeting this weekend it would almost certainly vote to withdraw from Tucsa.

General secretary Cedric Peterson said the question of GWUWP disaffiliation has been on the cards since May. The decision was temporarily shelved to give acting secretary Fred Roux a chance to revive the federation. Roux's unexplained and sudden resignation after only two months "reopened the discussion", Petersen said.

Blaming Tucsa's decline on lack of leadership, Petersen praised the efforts of acting office bearers, Botha and Ruth Imrie. "Hats off to them, they have done a miracle keeping the pieces together — but the federation needs permanent staff in leadership positions," he said.

Like most of the unions that have left Tucsa, the GWUWP will not join another federation. "The workers we represent live on the poverty line. I think we need to look at the immediate problems that affect them. It is far more valuable and relevant to work with local community organisations at grassroots level instead of sitting around a confederation table debating national issues."

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## EXPERTS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT SOLVING BLACK HOUSING CRISIS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Sep 86 p 12

[Article by David Jackson]

[Text]

**S**OUTH Africa's critical backlog in black housing could be eliminated within 10 to 15 years — boosted by the Government's R750-million package for home building.

But experts in the housing field warned this week that the cash injection was only a beginning. They say a major onslaught must be made on the shortage of available land for building and on cutting the strangling Government red tape if the time scale is to be met.

The prospects for blacks owning their own homes are now better than they have ever been. But, say the experts, the project could be still-born unless there is a major shake-up of antiquated procedures which are frustrating developers.

Across the country, exciting and innovative housing schemes for blacks are rolling off the drawing-boards — given momentum by political developments which give blacks as well as whites the option of buying on leasehold or freehold.

**A**nd the country's building industry, now suffering one of its worst slumps, is itching to get moving on home building — which in turn would provide a stimulus to the economy by providing jobs for a host of allied tradesmen.

Experts this week gave warm but qualified approval

to the Government's new housing drive — the first serious attempt in decades to cut back the black housing backlog, which all agree could be one of the keys to racial peace.

But they say many administrative hurdles — and the vexing land issue — must be overcome if it is to take off.

Authoritative estimates put the present backlog in black housing (including coloureds and Indians) at anything between 530 000 and 575 000 homes.

And one forecast of the requirement by the turn of the century is such that even if the country develops 100 000 houses a year for blacks, only about 50 percent of the need will be met by the year 2000.

In some townships, an average of 16 people or more are living in a single home — with up to 42 people in a single two-bedroomed house in some extreme cases.

Some say that even if the Government's R750-million was immediately poured into a crash housing drive, it would reduce the backlog only by about five to 10 percent.

But hopes are pinned on a snowballing effect which — with schemes such as the "self-help" housing projects being initiated by the Urban Foundation — could see the housing shortage drastically reduced within a decade.

Says Mr I W Robinson, managing director of the giant LTA construction company: "Money is not the real problem ... we are short of

land, and the allocation of land to the private sector has been the main stumbling block in getting over the housing backlog.

"People at the senior level of Government are enthusiastic about involving the private sector, but somewhere down the bureaucratic line there's a blockage.

"It is being cleared slowly, but I would rather like to see this R750-million used for servicing the land which the Government may be able to provide.

"The private sector finds it much easier from a cash-flow point of view to take a risk profile in selling houses on serviced land."

"As much of this money as possible should be spent on the infrastructure so that we can then take that land, build houses and sell them quickly.

"We have to wait a long time to get a return on our investment, whereas if we get the serviced land we can start selling houses within four or five months of actually starting work — and start generating a cash flow."

**A**ccording to Mr Robinson, there is already a backlog of homes for blacks who have the means to buy them — basic bricks and mortar, two-bedroomed houses, in the R20 000 to R60 000 range.

"As a rule the black man requires space. This is a big incentive and whether the finishing is a bit rough is not really the main concern. We

have a lot of potential buyers in this price range."

But what of most blacks who will not be able to get a bond for a R20 000 home?

Says Mr Robinson: "We've got to try to encourage building societies to look at financing Third World standards of housing. We are attempting to provide First World accommodation in a Third World environment at the moment."

"We have to provide a house which is first of all affordable, and secondly in an area where the black man wants to live."

"He wants to live where he doesn't have to travel about three hours to get to work in the morning."

"The environment is also very important ... we don't want to see Sowetos springing up all over the place. This can be avoided with careful planning."

Mr Robinson says that in theory the backlog could be cleared within 10 years.

One of the keys to low-cost housing could lie with the "self-help" schemes.

Mr Matthew Nell, general manager of the Family Housing Association — a housing tweek R350 and R400 a utility company established by the Urban Foundation in the Transvaal — explains that these schemes, which link individual owner-builders with building society finance, have approved building plans, bulk-purchased materials available to them on-site, plus a level of technical supervision and advice available during construction.

The owner-builders then take responsibility for organising the building themselves. They find their own local contractor and employ him on a labour-only basis to produce the goods.

Says Mr Nell: "Our lowest-priced house is going with a building society bond at about R10 000 at the moment. We are able to get down to household incomes of below R10 000."

"This means between 50 and 60 percent of families on the Rand can afford houses with this type of self-help, assuming they are employed."

This type of housing can be

produced within four to six months by the owner-builder.

Such schemes are being run in Katlehong and Thokoza (formerly Natalspruit), and by the end of the year 100 to 125 houses a month will be coming off the production line.

There are similar schemes in the Eastern and Western Cape, Bloemfontein and Durban.

In a second version of the "self-help" scheme, people are given access to a serviced site where they take occupation, erect a temporary structure and over a period ranging from three to eight years provide themselves with a house.

This means they don't have to find the finance for the whole product all at once.

But, warns Mr Nell: "The allocation of funds is only one of the elements which have to be dealt with."

"It's critical to resolve the land supply question, to stimulate the local home-building industry, and to tackle the whole red tape issue — such as the administrative requirements in order to register ownership on each individual."

"On the credit side, housing is now receiving a level of priority which increases our optimism that these factors will be addressed."

**D**r Llewellyn Lewis, president of the Institute of Housing, also believes the black-housing backlog could be eliminated within 10-15 years if the tempo of expenditure is maintained and there is an increased Government allocation for black housing.

"I think the Government is in earnest, because it wants to create employment and stimulate the economy."

"The package could be a major engine for growth and I'm optimistic, particularly because the private sector is becoming involved in various innovative and creative ways on the financing side."

"The constraining issues are land and finance. Technically, we can solve our problems ... there is nobody in the world who can teach us anything about housing."

## EXPERT ASSESSES HOUSING BACKLOG SITUATION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Sep 86 p 12

[Article by Dr Tobie de Vos, chief economist of the Building Services Division, National Building Research Institute at the CSIR]

[Text]

The population of the Republic of South Africa is expected to increase from 20 million in 1985 to about 34 million by the year 2000 when a projected 83 per cent will be living in the urban areas compared with 66 percent at present.

The white group presently has a housing surplus of about 37 000 units. This does not necessarily mean all households are without problems.

Financial hardship, overcrowding and the occupation of inadequate homes is often found. The fact that vacant units are not restricted to the relatively expensive category indicates that affordability problems are also experienced by whites.

Although statistical analysis indicates a shortage of 52 000 housing units for the coloured population, information obtained from a number of local areas seems to indicate the present shortage may be as high as 100 000 units.

The Indian population has a shortage of about 44 000 housing units.

The main housing problem facing South Africa concerns the black

population. This is not only because of the size of this population, but because previous government policies restricted the building of homes, and imposed influx control and group areas legislation.

### Generate demand

While the present backlog for blacks amounts to more than 500 000 units, the relaxation of influx control, together with the natural population increase, will generate a demand for an additional 1,3 million homes by 1990.

An estimated 2,7 million homes will have to be provided before the year 2000 if every household is to occupy a separate dwelling by then.

About 3,2 million homes in all need to be provided in the urban area of the RSA before 2000. This is more than 200 000 on average per annum.

The ability to provide low cost housing units depends, among other things, on the cost of the dwellings, the ability of households to afford them, the availability and cost of the land, labour and the funds available for subsidisation.

### Unit cost

The cost of providing a low-cost housing unit in 1986 is R20 000

including land and services. (A low-cost house is defined as a 55 sq m to 69 sq m home containing three living rooms, a kitchen and bathroom with no cupboards and only basic storage space in the kitchen. Ceilings are provided and the floor finishes are relatively maintenance free. Electricity, hot and cold water and waterborne sewerage are included.)

The ability of households to afford accommodation can be evaluated, inter alia, in terms of their disposable income for housing.

This disposable income is considered to be that portion of household income available for housing after transport costs of the breadwinners have been paid as well as the items necessary to maintain a minimum standard of health and decency.

The Institute of Planning Research at the University of Port Elizabeth has found the Household Subsistence Levels (HSL) for blacks, Indians and coloureds to be R345, R401 and R368 a month respectively in 1985.

As similar studies have not been undertaken for whites, it will be assumed the HSL for Whites is the same as for Indians.

## Current and projected urban housing requirements: 1985-2000

| Population group |               | Housing Stock<br>1985 | Housing requirements |           |           |           |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|                  |               |                       | 1985                 | 1990      | 1995      | 2000      |
| Whites*          | Requirements  | 1 299 000             | 1 262 000            | 1 332 000 | 1 430 000 | 1 517 000 |
|                  | Cum. shortage |                       | +(37 000)            | 33 000    | 132 000   | 218 000   |
| Coloureds*       | Requirements  | 394 000               | 446 000              | 487 000   | 538 000   | 586 000   |
|                  | Cum. shortage |                       | 52 000               | 94 000    | 144 000   | 192 000   |
| Asians*          | Requirements  | 141 000               | 185 000              | 200 000   | 218 000   | 234 000   |
|                  | Cum. shortage |                       | 44 000               | 60 000    | 77 000    | 93 000    |
| Blacks**         | Requirements  | 466 000               | 1 004 000            | 2 299 000 | 2 724 000 | 3 161 000 |
|                  | Cum. shortage |                       | 538 000              | 1 833 000 | 2 258 000 | 2 695 000 |

+ Surplus

\* RSA and National States, excluding TBVC countries

\*\* RSA, excluding the National States and the TBVC countries

### Households

According to the 1985 All Media and Products survey (AMPS) the average declared monthly income for households in South Africa (including the TBVC countries and Namibia) ranged from R352 for blacks to more than R2 000 for whites.

In terms of this analysis, only 2,4 percent of white households are financially unable to make any contributions towards their housing. The corresponding figures for coloured, Indians and blacks are 31,1 percent, 8,2 percent and 56,4 percent.

About nine percent of all white households need assistance to acquire a low-cost dwelling. More than half the coloureds, 30 percent of the Indians and no less than 84 percent of the blacks cannot afford a low-cost dwelling with some form of subsidy.

The one-third interest rate State subsidy which first-time homeowners receive allows 94 percent of all white households to acquire

low-cost dwellings whereas the civil service subsidy allows 96 percent to do so.

The corresponding percentages for coloureds are about 53 and 61, for Indians 78 and 85 and for blacks 24 and 33.

### Loan funds

According to tables reflecting loan funds required for subsidised low-cost housing, it can be calculated that at least R8 000 million is needed to eradicate the 1985 backlog. This is 11 times the R720 million the Government has made available.

If the housing backlog is to be met by 1990 at the standard suggested and assuming prices, costs, interest rates and household incomes remain constant, the astronomical amount of R27 000 million will be required in the form of loanable funds on which no interest or capital redemption payments can be made initially.

Too many households in South Africa have become accustomed to either the State or their employers

largely subsidising their accommodation. This has created a dependancy syndrome which has detrimentally affected the natural growth of the housing market.

### **Informal sector**

About 70 percent of white households receive some form of housing subsidy while a considerably larger proportion of other population groups enjoy this privilege.

The involvement of each household in the provision of its housing is probably the most significant way to reduce the need for low-cost housing finance. The encouragement and development of the informal economic sector, specially in the erection and maintenance of dwellings, is of particular importance.

For such a system to be successful, building standards appropriate to the technologies employed and to the associated financial constraints will have to be actively encouraged and approved.

The role of the State in the provision and financing of housing in South Africa has often been underestimated. It is not generally known the State has in recent years been responsible for the direct financing of more than one-third of all housing constructed in South Africa.

### **Plots available**

As far as coloured, Indian and blacks are concerned, the Government has been investing about R350 million per annum to provide about 23 000 homes a year. Despite this, the housing backlog has increased steadily. This state of affairs led to the adoption of a new housing policy at the beginning of 1983 in terms of which active support of the public sector is sought.

In an attempt to use available funds to the best advantage, the Government now gives priority to the provision of serviced building plots.

These plots are made available to all persons who can, either from

their own financial resources or with the assistance of their employers or financial institutions, accept responsibility for the construction of their own homes.

For the group earning:

- Up to R150 per month, the local authority is responsible for providing a serviced site and dwelling utilising State funds.

- R150 to R450 per month, the local authority provides only a serviced stand utilising State funds. The property owner is eligible to receive financial assistance for building materials up to a maximum of R4 000.

- R450 to R800 a month, the local authority is required to provide a serviced site only, utilising State funds.

- R801 and above, the housing needs must be met by the private sector.

### **New strategy**

The campaign launched by the government in 1983 to sell 500 000 housing units at very reasonable prices is indicative of an endeavour to promote home-ownership.

Although this new housing strategy of the Government is laudable, it has not yet met with the success expected. This is mainly attributable to delays in finalising surveying and township establishment procedures, as well as to pressure not to purchase homes brought to bear on tenants by opposing political groups. Recent evidence seems to indicate sales are now picking up.

### **Loss offset**

It is impossible to promote large-scale provision of low-cost housing in South Africa without some form of subsidy and incentive. Effective incentives will offset any potential loss of revenue or expenditure of funds, whereas subsidies imply the reallocation of resources.

Subsidies should ideally relate to the ability to pay. They should be granted only in cases of proven need to achieve viable objectives. If correctly applied, subsidies can make a significant contribution to the financing of low-cost housing.

## BRIEFS

REFUGEE FLOOD TO DURBAN DOUBLES--Durban--About 100 stowaways, mostly from Tanzania, have landed in Durban since January--twice the number for the same period last year. They say they are fleeing from hunger and lack of work. The number of stowaways who make their way to South Africa has increased dramatically over the years, said Captain G. D. Stobbs, of P and I Associates. He said the Tanzanians were so desperate to get out that one report claimed a group of them had hidden in a ship's bilges for two days before they were discovered. "Whenever there was a search on board, the stowaways would dive into the water in the bilges, using a tube to breath," said Captain Stobbs. Some of the stowaways--mostly in their 20s--had malaria, leprosy and sleeping sickness, he said. If they had the necessary identification and travel documents, they were eventually sent back home. "If not, they are put back on the ship they arrived in." He added that the repatriation of stowaways cost ship owners and insurers thousands of rands. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Sep 86 p 13] /9274

CSO: 3400/3

## AUSTRALIAN BUSINESS LINKS PLAY ROLE IN DEALING WITH SANCTIONS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 7 Sep 86 p 9

[Article by Nic van Oudtshoorn and Cas St Leger]

[Text]

**AUSTRALIAN Prime Minister Bob Hawke's first sanctions against South Africa are already being busted — by a Labour Party state government.**

The federal government has been seriously embarrassed by revelations in Australia this week that the state government in Victoria has business links with South Africa through the Aussie-based engineering company, Comeng.

The Labour state government is involved in a joint R285-million deal with Comeng Holdings, which owns nearly half of South Africa's biggest rolling stock manufacturer, Union Carriage and Wagon Company, through its holding company, Australia National Industries.

Although official Labour Party policy forbids any government assistance to companies trading with South Africa, the Victorian state government and Comeng have signed the R285-million agreement to join forces in manufacturing and selling trams to Hong Kong.

An embarrassed Victorian Transport Minister, Mr Tom Roper, admitted the deal this week.

## Stunned

The revelations have caused red faces in the Victorian and federal governments and have angered many members of the Labour Party, particularly the leftwing and anti-apartheid groups.

The Rev Dick Wootton, an anti-apartheid group leader in the powerful United Church, said he was stunned by the news of the deal.

"This sort of business link is providing direct assistance to the South African Government's war machine," he said.

At the Labour Party's national conference in July, at which Mr Hawke pushed for sanctions against South Africa, it was decided that to fight apartheid there should be a "withdrawal of government assistance from Australian companies maintaining trading links with South Africa".

Yet despite this, the Victorian government, through the Melbourne Metropolitan Transit Authority, joined forces with Comeng and jointly signed the multi-million dollar agreement in August to construct a 34 km

tram system for Hong Kong.

Comeng, Australia's largest rail equipment manufacturer, is far from being a mere passive shareholder in South Africa's Union Carriage and Wagon.

Its holding company, ANI, owns 42 percent of Union Carriage and regularly sends engineers from Australia to South Africa to assist in design and to provide other technical expertise.

## Links

In announcing the joint Hong Kong deal, Transport Minister Mr Roper made no mention of Comeng's extensive links with South Africa.

Comeng refused this week to disclose any details of its South African operations, beyond confirming the 42 percent shareholding.

However, Comeng annual reports have shown an annu-

al profit for some years of the equivalent of more than R2.85-million from the operation of Union Carriage and Wagon.

Union Carriage's assistant managing director, Mr Herman Human, said the company was set up in South Africa by Comeng in 1958.

Comeng had tendered for a contract, indicating it would construct a factory if it was awarded the contract.

On receiving the successful tender, Union Carriage's Nigel factory was built.

The South African company had no links with the Hong Kong tram deal, Mr Human said.

He said Comeng's 42 percent South African shareholding was taken over by its holding company, ANI — with Australian directors Mr N R Jones and D H Gray on Union's board — but the controlling holding was in local hands.

Anglo American and Gencor have a joint 47 percent stake in Union Carriage — an unlisted company — through Mainstraat Beleggings in which Anglo has a 30 percent interest and Gencor 50 percent.

In the stockbroking world, informed sources say that should the Australian connection be forced to sell its South African shares, Anglo would be likely to pick them up owing to the strategic nature of Union Carriage as an investment.

## CHAMBER OF MINES: SANCTIONS ON COAL TO DRIVE UP PRICE

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR (Finance) in English 7 Sep 86 pp 1, 3

[Text]

THE South African coal industry has issued a powerful warning to the world of the consequences of imposing unilateral bans on the country's coal exports.

The Chamber of Mines of SA, the umbrella organisation representing the majority of South Africa's massive mining industry, claims that if coal sanctions do "bite" they will force up the international price of coal dramatically.

In its most recent newsletter (released yesterday), the Chamber points out that last year South Africa provided the world markets with 41 million tonnes of steam coal — mainly used for powering electricity stations — and nearly 3.8 million tonnes of anthracite, with a combined value of R3 100 million.

These volumes make South Africa the fourth-largest coal exporter with more than 12.6 per cent of the total world export market and more than 30 per cent of the market for sea-borne coal.

Yet little over a decade ago South Africa provided less than one

percent of international exports.

The industry's phenomenal growth, says the Chamber, was in response to urgent demands from energy-concerned nations. And it was achieved by technical excellence, comparatively low production costs and an enviable reputation for reliability.

"Such is South Africa's importance as an international supplier of steam coal that the imposition of sanctions would almost certainly be accompanied by a rapid increase in price on world markets.

"This is because the South African industry is a cost leader with the ability to supply coal at cif prices far lower than all major competitors. The effect of even partial disruption of supplies of low cost South African coal to international markets needs little elaboration," maintains the Chamber.

The Chamber report follows its ominous statement late last month, backed by statistics from the Transvaal Coal Owners Association (TCOA) that the initial effects of the mounting

international sanctions campaign against South Africa were beginning to impact severely on the coal mining industry.

As a result, and in anticipation of further sanctions coming into force, the collieries in South Africa said they had begun planning a massive retrenchment programme, which, if fully implemented, could have an adverse impact on the livelihoods of more than 200 000 men, women and children — most of them black.

The Chamber added last month that as a result of the sanctions imposed to date, South African coal exports this year had already fallen 17 per cent on 1985 levels and there was a strong chance that this downward trend could accelerate.

Coal, after gold, is the second-biggest earner of foreign exchange for South Africa, ahead of its much-vaunted diamond and platinum exports. Last year coal earned the country more than R3 000 million in export sales. Only gold exports, which totalled R15 500 million, earned more for the country.

Many of South Africa's minerals — among them gold, platinum, platinum group metals, vanadium, chrome and manganese — are to a large extent "sanction proof" because South Africa is either the only or a major world supplier.

In contrast, South Africa's coal exports face a world supply overhang and consequently depressed prices.

Another negative factor is that because of the large volumes of coal being exported, it has been extremely difficult to disguise their source and thus much easier for anti-South African organisations to monitor.

According to the Chamber newsletter, 98 882 people are employed by South Africa's coal mines, including 85 749 blacks. An estimated 17 150 black workers are migrants from outside the country's borders.

The Chamber claims that should sanctions be applied against coal exports, the inevitable job losses would affect black workers most.

Another point raised is that black migrant coal workers send large sums of money and benefits in kind to their homelands, many of which — especially Lesotho and Mozambique — are heavily dependent on remittances as a

source of much-needed foreign exchange.

"Indeed, identifiable remittances from all mineworkers in South Africa to Lesotho were estimated to be equal to some 60 percent of that country's gross domestic product in 1984."

Continuing its almost Dante-like portrait of a post-sanctions South African coal industry, the Chamber comments: "The effects of sanctions would not be limited to coal mine employees. In 1984 coal mines purchased goods and services from other sectors of the economy to the value of some R1 600 million.

"Sanctions, thus, could well affect the livelihood of thousands of workers in coal-dependent industries and their dependents."

The livelihood of workers in industrialised western countries could also be affected, since coal mining in South Africa is capital intensive and a purchaser of sophisticated equipment, much of which is made overseas.

"The phenomenal growth experienced by the South African coal mining industry is expected to continue, with exports in the region of 80 million tonnes forecast for the year 2000.

"Sanctions now could thus affect the job prospects of many black South Africans,

## SATS: EXPORT SHIPMENTS OUTSTRIPPING IMPORTS

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by David Furlonger]

[Text]

**EXPORT** shipments through SA's main harbours are running at up to nine times the level of imports.

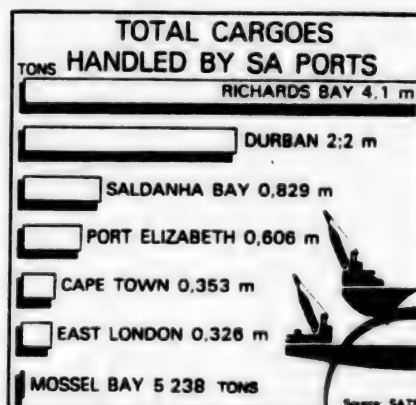
Figures from SA Transport Services show exports in July totalled 7,2-million tons, compared with imports of 970 000 tons.

Although official figures for other months this year include trans-shipment of local cargoes from one port to another, they show clearly the extent to which imports are lagging.

Trans-shipment is so small — of the total 8,38-million tons handled by harbours in July, only 175 000 tons were trans-shipped — that total figures give a clear picture of import-export levels.

In April, harbours imported 872 000 tons, compared with exports of 6,8-million; in May, the figures were 926 000 and 8,1-million, and in June 856 000 and 5,8-million tons.

Seaborne mineral imports in July, excluding trans-shipment, totalled 194 000 tons, of which nearly half — 94 000 tons — are listed under "other mineral pro-



ducts" as classified information.

Of the 1,5-million tons of minerals exports, 1,3-million tons are classified.

Other major imports included fruit, vegetable and grain products (160 000 tons); chemicals, plastics and rubber (190 000); and vehicles, aircraft and spares (89 000).

Leading exports, in tonnage terms, included fruit, vegetable and grain products (581 000); timber and paper products (597 000); and base metals (617 000).

/9274

CSO. 3400/6

# SOARING GOLD PRICES MAY HERALD RISE IN STANDARD OF LIVING

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 7 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by John Spira]

[Text]

## SOARING gold and platinum prices will soon put more money into the pocket of the man in the street.

The past three weeks of booming precious metal prices is therefore good news for consumers reeling from the effects of the three-year economic recession and the sky-high inflation rate.

Economists are elated with calculations which reveal that the frenzied buying of gold and platinum in world markets translates into a whopping annualised \$2 000 million in additional South African foreign exchange earnings compared with prices of three weeks ago.

The figure is equivalent to almost the total amount of foreign debt repayable by South Africa until mid-1987.

This is the good news that could ultimately spill over into meaningful standard of living improvements for all South Africans.

Already the additional money flowing into the country in the wake of the precious metals boom has exerted downward pressure on interest rates — which means (immediately) cheaper overdrafts and (eventually) reduced payments on hire purchase contracts and mortgage bonds.

And Mr Jimmy McKenzie, Barclays Bank's senior general manager, believes that scope exists for further interest rate reductions.

He points out that Barclays has just reduced the interest rate it charges on home loans and suggests that there is now irresistible pressure on the building societies to follow suit.

Booming precious metal prices mean massive profits for the country's mines — a factor which, in turn, translates into considerably increased tax receipts for the Government.

And although tax relief for individuals will have to await next year's Budget, should the gold price maintain its upward momentum, reduced taxation is almost certainly a prospect.

The heightened level of economic activity which is bound to be generated by South Africa's improved cash flow should also create more jobs in due course.

But perhaps the most positive impact is psychological. In spite of the growing intensity of sanctions pressures and the legacy of a crippling recession, the business sector — and, indeed, John Citizen — is beginning to take a brighter view of the future.

Most encouraging is that the Reserve Bank has allowed the rand to move up in unison with buoyant gold and platinum prices.

Economists point out that during the 1976-80 gold boom — when the gold price rocketed from \$100 to \$850 — the rand was not allowed to rise by more than 16 percent.

The resultant massive rise in rand gold prices

triggered off a tremendous credit explosion, which enabled the economy to grow at 8 percent for a single year but resulted in inflation, recession, high interest rates, unemployment and social unrest in the following five years.

As economist Dr Azar Jammine notes: "This time round, if the rand is allowed to appreciate in line with gold, the initial impact on economic growth might be somewhat muted.

"But in the longer term, it will result in less growth in the money supply, less inflation, lower interest rates, more confidence and higher growth — all, hopefully, leading to a reduction in unrest.

"Ironically, the need to repay high levels of foreign debt is imposing a financial discipline on the authorities which did not exist in 1980 and which can therefore be seen in a healthy light."

Boosting confidence, too, was Friday's re-

duction in the bank rate, a move that prompted the country's major banks to follow suit on their prime lending rates.

Mr McKenzie says Barclays is adopting an aggressive interest policy and will not hesitate to drop its rates if conditions prompt such a move, pointing out that every decline in interest rates puts more money into the pocket of the man in the street.

He draws attention, too, to the 15 percent benchmark rate that is currently levied for purposes of perks tax.

He is convinced that this rate, established when the prime rate was a high 20 percent, is bound to come down in line with the general pattern of interest rates, in the process — again boosting take-home pay.

In addition, a reduction in the 15 percent perks tax benchmark would provide a much-needed fillip for the motor and building industries.

/9274

CSO: 3400/17

# DROP IN FOREIGN TOURISTS LEAVES THOUSANDS JOBLESS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Sep 86 p 8

[Text] Cape Town—Thousands of people in the hotel and related industries have lost their jobs as a result of the decline in the number of foreign visitors.

A memorandum submitted by the SA Tourism Board to the economic affairs committee of the President's Council now sitting in Cape Town says that in "good years" the hotel industry provides between 60 000 and 85 000 job opportunities.

This figure has dropped to about 55 000.

About 10 percent of the people employed in the industry are whites

Between 40 and 50 percent of the employees were in the semi-skilled and unskilled category. In the non-hotel accommodation industry the figure was between 60 and 70 percent.

There are 1 321 registered hotels in South Africa with a total of 91 362 beds.

Between April 1985 and May this year the average occupancy of beds for the various grades of hotels ranged from 32 percent (for one-star hotels) to 45 percent (for three-star hotels).

## FIVE-STAR HOTELS

Five-star hotels, of which there are 11 with a total of 5 687

beds, had an average occupancy of 36 percent.

Tour operators and travel agents, which employ about 5 000, have been hard hit.

In a relatively undeveloped field with "enormous potential" relating to agricultural activities, package tours are already being offered, such as to the wine, wool and crayfish route.

The tourism industry is already making a large contribution to job creation in the informal business sector.

An even bigger contribution could be made in this field as tourists are eager to buy hand-made articles and art work.

"The cultural diversity of the South African population lends itself to the development of this sector and we believe many job opportunities can be created in this way, especially for unskilled and semi-skilled work-seekers," the memorandum says.

Oral evidence on job creation was given at the hearings by two directors of the SA Tourism Board. Mr Kobus Roux and Mr Johan Fourie

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CSO: 3400/6

RESEARCHERS SAY HALF OF BLACK POPULATION JOBLESS

Johannesburg THE WEEKLY MAIL in English 12-18 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Phillip van Niekerk]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA is facing a massive social disaster with between four and six million blacks out of work, according to estimates by two researchers at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor Jeremy Keenan of the Department of Social Anthropology and Michael Sarakinsky, a post-graduate student, say half the country's economically active blacks could be unemployed.

In a "Memorandum on Unemployment", they say that income levels have declined and poverty has increased dramatically since 1976 in black households.

The estimates could have explosive implications for the sanctions debate, where one of the main pegs of the anti-sanctions lobby has been the threat of black job losses.

Unemployment is also often cited as one of the main causes of the civil unrest which has burnt across South Africa for the past two years.

Many of the jobless are locked into the burgeoning squatter cities on the periphery of the metropolitan areas.

These include Onverwacht, Winterveld, Crossroads and Khayelitsha, KwaNdebele and the shanty towns which ring Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Keenan and Sarakinsky accuse the South African government of minimising the unemployment levels.

They say the exact level of black unemployment is unknown because of the "appalling lack of reliable data".

In their memorandum they dismiss as "ludicrous" the most recent official figure of black unemployment, which stood at 519 000 in June 1986.

The authors base their figures on the pioneering work into unemployment done by Charles Simkins at the University of Cape Town in 1977 and 1981.

In 1977 Simkins estimated there were 2,3-million unemployed, while in 1981 he revised his calculations and estimated there were two million unemployed.

Simkins made his calculations before the recession began in the early Eighties, wiping out jobs in many industries and leading to a levelling off of growth in employment.

Keenan and Sarakinsky use the generally accepted estimate that 250 000 new workers reach the job market every year and that 250 000 jobs have to be found if unemployment is to remain static.

The authors quote figures from the Central Statistical Services which show there was a net decrease of 16 000 jobs in the modern sector of the economy between 1977 and 1985 and a decrease of 181 000 between 1981 and 1985.

Thus since 1977 there has been an increase in unemployment of two million and, since 1981, an increase of 1,2-million.

However, this excludes agriculture where — the authors estimate — there was a decline of about a quarter of a million job opportunities between 1977 and 1985.

In the independent homelands, also excluded from the CSS figure, the authors estimate that since 1977 an extra 1,1-million people have joined the unemployment scrapheap in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

Their estimate is based on an estimate of 1,8-million unemployed in these areas, two-thirds having become jobless since 1977.

Added to Simkins' base figures and the other estimates, they say, this adds up to an estimated overall range of between 4,8-million and six million.

However, the authors say, there are a number of factors — such as the under-enumeration of the population — which lead them to believe the estimate is in fact conservative.

Simkins — of the University of Cape Town's Department of Economics — said yesterday he had given up talking of gross amounts of unemployed because the government's statistical information was so poor.

"I do not intend to leap in with a new figure," he said. "But if you added on everyone who has joined the labour force since 1981 to my 1981 figure, you would have a figure well in excess of three million."

## CAPE TOWN WORKERS OFFER SCANT RESPONSE TO SKILLED JOB OFFERS

Cape Town THE WEEKEND ARGUS (Business) in English 6 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Derek Tommey]

[Text]

WITH the end of the recession in sight companies throughout South Africa are looking for extra staff. But the response from Cape Town to their advertisements so far has been poor.

Mrs Val Middleton, managing director of Admark, Cape Town, a company which specialises in the preparation and placing of job advertisements for skilled staff, said today there had been a steady increase in the past few months in the number of jobs being advertised.

May had been a record month for Admark and so had August, with help-wanted adds up 30 percent on May. September had opened on an incredibly busy note so this could be a record month too.

However, recruiters were finding there was a grave shortage of skilled workers. Some placement advertisements drew as little as seven responses.

Mrs Middleton blamed the emigration of skilled workers and the reluctance of people to move from existing jobs for this situation.

"There has been a horrific brain drain," she said. "Every day people have been emigrating."

Recently a British company had recruited 27 computer programmers from South Africa. A large number of engineers and accountants had been going to Australia and the United States.

But another factor militating against the recruitment of staff was the unwillingness of people to move from their present jobs.

People were feeling insecure and were most reluctant to take a chance and move to another job. It was not unusual for successful applicants to refuse at the last minute to move to the job offered them.

This shortage of skilled people has meant that recruiters were having to offer a bigger carrot.

But though there was a skills shortages, many good people were still looking for jobs. Their difficulty was that they did not have the right skills.

School leavers and university graduates, especially women, were also having difficulty finding work. Employers usually wanted people with at least a year's experience so it was not easy to place young people straight out of school or university.

## MORE APPLICATIONS

Mr Michael Lane, manager of the appointments division of PE Corporate Services, Johannesburg, confirmed there had been an increase in the number of companies seeking staff in the past month or so. But he had experienced an increase in the number of applications — though perhaps not from Cape Town.

A specialist in appointment of senior executives, Mr Lane said people living at the coast seemed far less willing to change jobs than was the case on the Reef.

The financial services field had experienced a serious brain drain. The answer was to step up the training of blacks. At present South Africa had only seven black chartered accountants.

He was increasingly working on the development of black management.

## ECONOMIST URGES TAX REDUCTION FOR GROWTH, LOWERED INFLATION

Cape Town THE WEEKEND ARGUS (Business) in English 6 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Azar Jammie, chief economist of Econometrix, and NIC NEL, tax consultant]

[Text]

INTEREST in the findings of the Margo Commission of Enquiry into the Tax System is intense for the outcome could radically improve South Africans' living standards.

What follows is the substance of our original proposals to the Margo Commission — proposals which revolve around tax cuts and the proposition that tax cuts really do work.

We offer nine convincing arguments and we have volumes of detailed research available to back them up:

Our arguments are:

- The lower the rate of tax, the less upward pressure there is on prices. Low-rate, broad-based taxes are less inflationary than are high-rate, narrowly based taxes.

- The less the economy is taxed, the greater the amount left in the economy from which production can be generated in future years. Economic growth is thereby enhanced. This can result in an increasing stream of tax receipts generated at the new (lower) tax rates which will exceed the receipts which would have been obtained at the old (higher) tax rate.

- By removing the disincentives of high tax rates, cutting taxes enhances growth and increases fiscal revenues. Raising growth by increasing pro-

ductivity and profitability works through the economic system exponentially, leading to a spiral of growth, both of the economy and of the fiscal revenues collected at the lower tax rates.

- The lower the company rate of tax relative to the individual rate of tax, the greater the potential for productive capital formation. In the interest of economic growth, individuals must be encouraged to spend — not save — and businesses to retain their capital for productive purpose. A lower tax rate on businesses as against individuals achieves this.

- Taxation is effectively a major cost to businesses and this cost is passed on to individuals in the form of higher prices. The major determinant of employment is a demand for goods and services which can be supplied at a satisfactory profit.

Permanent increases in demand are actually driven by factors controlled by producers — such as price levels, levels of investment and product variety/availability.

These factors, in turn, are influenced by producers' costs — one of which is the level of taxation. The lower the rate of taxation, the lower the level of prices, the higher the level of demand and the higher the resultant levels of investment,

employment, incomes and economic growth.

- Taxation is not only a cost to companies but also a cost to individuals, because companies tend to pass costs on to the consumer. The lower his tax rate, the more disposable income is available to an individual.

- Government spending on current account tends to be inflationary and rarely has positive long-term effects for the economy. This is because government is not answerable to shareholders and is not motivated by profit. However, fixed domestic investment by government must be highly beneficial to the economy.

Direct government spending tends to require the maintenance of high tax rates and this tends to be inflationary because it increases unit costs of production. Borrowing by government is a squeeze of capital out of the private sector which tends to push up interest rates and stifle investment and economic growth in the long term.

Incentives are different and enable the market to contribute to the achievement of government objectives, voluntarily. It is for this reason that spending, for example, on black housing would be better applied in the form of a tax concession than in direct expenditure.

● There is a tremendous amount of vested interest among big institutions and business against tax and economic reform. Big business, particularly the life insurance companies and the mining houses and their representative bodies, carry a disproportionately low burden under the present system and are not immune to acting in their selfish sectoral interests.

Most of our biggest corporations pay less than 6 percent of their profits in tax. The combined payments of the life assurance companies last year was only R288-million — less than the R355-million GST paid on used cars in the same period.

● The corollary of all the above is that tax cuts really do promote economic growth, create employment, and, if correctly introduced, reduce inflation and increase fiscal revenue.

#### **On all purchases**

This brings us to the mechanics of how best to achieve tax cuts to the benefit of all concerned.

Our proposals for the tax system hinge on a tandem system of a combined transaction tax and a flat rate tax.

The transaction tax is a tax of small proportions, as regards rate, on all purchases of goods and services by all persons (including companies, trusts, businesses and individuals) in the economy.

Where the transaction is

cleared by a bank or other financial institution, the tax is collected automatically — in the same way banks collect their charges.

An estimate of the current base of this tax is R3 400-billion a year. A rate of 0,74 percent will therefore collect R25-billion a year in fiscal revenues — two-thirds of the government's current revenue requirements.

About 80 percent of this revenue will be collected automatically by computer accounting through the financial institutions, reducing manual intervention and costs of collection to minimal proportions, compared with an ordinary tax and even a GST.

A prerequisite for the deduction of an expense for flat rate tax purposes is the payment of the transaction tax. This can be ascertained easily — if a cheque has been drawn, the transaction tax has been paid.

With developments in electronic banking, there may come the day when not even businesses will need to lodge income tax returns, other than a statement of assets and liabilities at book value.

With the special problem in South Africa of large numbers of semiliterate and unsophisticated taxpayers, the system of a withholding tax at source of remuneration, obviating any need for an individual to have to complete a tax return at all, must be very attractive.

The rates proposed are, ini-

tially, 0,74 percent for the transaction tax and 9 percent for the flat rate tax.

The transaction tax at this "high" rate is only a temporary tax measure, as an alternative to selling government assets, to finance the deficit in the first years of taxation cuts.

The 9 percent flat rate tax is an optimum rate and it is forecast that it will, within about five years, be sufficient to collect virtually all government revenue requirements.

#### **Full amount**

This, in turn, would enable the transaction tax, installed initially at 0,74 percent, either to be abrogated or to be held in place at about a tenth of that rate.

At the 0,74 percent/9 percent rates proposed, the combination of transaction tax and flat rate tax would have had the ability to collect revenues in the 1986 fiscal year of about R41-billion — the full amount of expected government expenditure this year.

We propose this tandem tax system as a replacement of income tax, GST, import duty and all other taxes, imposts and levies of a fiscal nature.

As against a VAT system, which would cost a fortune to install and require at least two years to be put in place, the tandem system we propose can slot in with the existing system, virtually overnight.

The systems we propose do not require new law, merely deletions from existing law.

## SOCIAL UPHEAVAL PREDICTED AS DROUGHT CONTINUES IN TRANSVAAL

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 1 Sep 86 p 7

[Text]

The drought in the Western Transvaal could not only deprive thousands of people of a livelihood, but also disturb the whole social structure of the area with the prospect of thousands of black people moving to Orkney and Klerksdorp seeking jobs.

Professor Petrie Schutte, director of the Bureau of Manpower and Management Research at Potchefstroom University, said the Orkney/Klerksdorp area would have to brace itself for up to 1 million new black residents from farms in the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana in years to come should the drought continue.

According to the bureau, every farm provided accommodation for between 20 and 30 black families.

What caused the greatest concern, Professor Schutte said, was the falling water table. The whole of the Western Transvaal was dependent on underground water, and on many farms boreholes had already dried up.

### **Boreholes dry**

"Things cannot get worse," said Mr Boet Pelser, manager of the Marico Koöperasie. "Dams such as the one at Kromelienboog will hold only until November. I don't know what will happen after that."

Mr Jaap Coetzee, the co-operative's branch manager at Groot Marico, told *The Star* that he still had some cattle on the farm Schoongezicht, but on more than 400 ha of land he only had enough grazing for 29 head of cattle.

On another farm he had, Krokodildrif, also in the Swartruggens district, all the boreholes had dried up.

### **Nothing to do**

Mr Gert Visagie and his wife Poppie of Onverwacht farm near Boons had the same experience.

"We do not even have enough water to run a vegetable garden and have to buy everything we need in town," Mrs Visagie said. Her husband works as a carpenter for a businessman.

"We still live in the farmhouse but there is nothing

to do. You cannot carry on farming without water," said Mrs Visagie who had taken up a job as a school secretary.

At Swartruggens the owner of the local hotel, Mrs Pam van Vuuren, had the same story to tell. "Until recently all our drinking water came from Zeerust. All the boreholes had dried up, but luckily we had a bit of rain that filled up the town's dam."

But the worst-hit area according to co-operative officials could be the Lindleyspoort Irrigation scheme.

### **Abandoned**

Of the original 150 farmers, there were perhaps not more than seven who could still call themselves full-time farmers. Others remained on their farms but do other jobs to make ends meet.

Many farmhouses have been abandoned and some farmers, desperate for cash, were willing to let farmhouses for as lit-

tle as R60 a month.

Co-operative officials are also worried about the social implications of co-ops going into the red.

"In the past we used to help institutions such as the Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouefederasie and old people's homes, but now we have to start looking after ourselves," Mr Boet Pelser explained.

### **Suicide**

"We are also worried about elderly people who have to leave their farms and seek jobs elsewhere."

An official of one co-operative said that there were even instances of wealthy farmers who now had to live in hovels.

"In the Marico district the plight of the farmers is such that one debt-ridden farmer even committed suicide," the official added.

The manager of the Koster Koöperasie told *The Star* that many farms in his district had fetched very low prices during recent auctions.

## You Cannot Harvest or Live on Dust and Dry Sticks...

In the searing heat of the Western Transvaal cattle graze the dust under a sky so pale it is almost white.

Real rain has not fallen here for five years — after nearly 2 000 days like this one, there are children who have learned to talk but do not know what "rain" means.

Water comes from the ground, and when the boreholes dry up, they have learnt, you buy it at R2 per drum.

Some of their fathers have cleared their land and planted crops they never harvested — how can you harvest dry stalks and dust? Some did not bother and the aloe and black doringboom dominate.

"I am not an atheist, but how can I pray now?" asks a grim-faced woman in the bar of the Derby Hotel, where local farmers are discussing the drought and the financial problems of their co-op.

"Things are at a turning point — and from now on they'll only get worse," a farmer agrees.

"You can try as hard as you like, but no one can change it."

Desperation has settled

on the district like the powdery dust that clings to everything and lies inch-deep on the farmlands.

Like Tennessee dust-bowl nomads, couples and families hitchhike through the villages, settling on those that offer food and shelter.

The group in the bar of the Derby Hotel casts around for someone to blame.

Their lives are falling apart and "P W Botha has abandoned them" — (this is Conservative Party territory).

There is not enough

food for them — and the blacks "must go back to their homelands, or better still, over the border" (to Botswana).

These farmers are among the few that have remained on the land. Many have simply locked their doors, sold the last skinny cattle and moved to the city or the mines.

"They've gone to the gold fields," an old man guarding the local dam says when asked why all the farms nearby are deserted.

The dam is the lowest he has ever seen it, he says.

The small towns are dying a slow death. In Ot-toshoop — subjected to a fruitless hunt for diamonds recently — the single road through the town is bracketed on one end by the local school which closed down in 1984, and the police station, where the last policeman was packing to move out this month.

Only one store remains, and children treat the barely-used main road as a playground.

In Groot Marico the shopkeepers survive on giving credit: Mr A A Daya estimates he is owed about R7 000, money he does not expect to see.

At the store next door Mrs Mohamed Rajan, minding the second-generation family business while her husband and father-in-law sought other work, told *The Star* her day's takings were frequently as low as R8.

Across the road the local borehole contractor, Mr Frederik van Rensburg, says there is water available but no one has the money to drill for it.

"It has been really slow in the past two years. Work is scarce."

He sometimes sells water at R2 the drum.

His grandson Corrie (12) is a Std 4-pupil at the Groot Marico Iaerskool, where a feeding scheme is now run. The children are given sandwiches every day: "But the teacher told us the children do have food, they just forget it at home."

## RUMORS OF NEW PLATINUM MINING COMPLEX IN BOPHUTHATSWANA

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Sep 86 p 23

[Text]

RAND Mines yesterday refused to comment on persistent rumours that it was planning to start a huge platinum mining complex in Bophuthatswana.

According to certain informed sources, Rand Mines was issued with a prospecting permit recently for a period of five years on the farms Nooitgedacht, Bospoort, Pearl, portion of Wonderkop, Leeukop, Wolvekraal and Kareepoort.

The Merensky Reef (MR) and the U.G2 is developed over these properties and is expected to yield a grade of between 5 and 9 grams a ton. It is believed that each reef should yield a tonnage of between 30 000 and 40 000 insitu tons per hectare.

According to Ecologi-

cal Survey's recent seismic survey in the Bushveld, it was shown that the dip of the platinum reefs became flatter with depth.

In the past it was thought that the MR and U.G2 would be too deep to mine economically. The survey has shown that these reefs dip at shallow angles or become flat. If this is the case then the area is of much greater significance than was previously believed.

Informed sources point out that grades of the west platinum mines improve with depth. Schaapkraal, the Goldfields farm apparently has intersected high grade values. To the east of Leeukop, the old Pandora property which now belongs to Rustenburg Plats

showed values of 5,5 to 6 grams a ton.

It is believed that grades of between 6 and 9 grams a ton are likely to be in existence on this prospecting lease.

There is speculation too that apart from platinum, Rand Mines have the right to exploit the vanadium bearing magnetite beds outcropping in the area.

With U.G2 being a chromitite seam with Rand Mines being closely involved in chromite mining and in the downstream ferrochrome production at Middelburg Steel and Alloys, this is a major plus factor for the company's entry into this field, that is, producing platinum and chrome from a single mine. Few companies can equal the

expertise of Barlow Rand in this field.

Informed sources point out too that Rand Mines has an overriding option over a further 8 000 ha to the north. This is such a large prospect situated in a well-known district for platinum that it is almost certain that a major production complex can be expected in the future.

The rumoured negotiations of Rand Mines with the Wansa platinum proposition at Kennedy Vale is significant in its own right and is possibly the reason why the shares have been climbing recently. But compared with the Leeukop project, it pales into insignificance, informed sources say.

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## GIANT WATER PROJECT AIMS TO DOUBLE VAAL RIVER SYSTEM SUPPLY

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Jaap Boekkooi]

[Text]

The Government is considering a giant plan which aims to more than double the water supplies of the entire Vaal River system by piping Zambezi water 800 km down south through a network of canals, pipes and pumping stations.

The existence of the project was confirmed today by Mr Claus Triebel, chief engineer (planning) of the Department of Water Affairs, who said it was one of his department's long-term plans.

The Zambezi would be tapped at its confluence with the Chobe River in northern Botswana, near Katima Mulilo and the Victoria Falls, from where water would flow down to southern Botswana and the Rand, and be lifted by pumping stations across escarpments.

The plan would produce 2 400 million cu m of water a year, 133 percent more than the current annual extraction of some 1 600 million cu m from the greater Vaal River system which stretches from Standerton to its confluence with the Orange River.

This makes the "Zambezi Plan" the country's largest potential water project. It is designed to

exceed the Lesotho Highlands Scheme supply by 200 million cu m a year.

Details of the plan have been discussed by its designer, Professor Guenter Borchert, a specialist Africa geographer of Hamburg University, with planning officials of the Water Affairs Department. They agree that at a current cost of about R9 000 million the projected Zambezi water would be too costly for irrigation purposes and should, therefore, be used exclusively for domestic consumption and industry.

### Official agreement

"In broad terms we agree with Professor Borchert's proposals. The water that would be made available will be equal to the present consumption in the entire Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area," Mr Triebel said.

"But it will also require an official agreement between all the governments of Southern Africa, including Angola, Zambia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique."

Four of these governments are already co-operating on the Limpopo Basin Technical Committee with the South African Department of Water Affairs.

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## SASOL PROFIT STATEMENT ANALYZED, 'NICE LOOKING RESULTS' SEEN

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 5 Sep 86 p 6

[Analysis by Robin Friedland]

[Text]

**S**ASOL HAS produced some nice looking results for the year ended June 28, 1986: earnings on the consolidated income statements are up by 14,9% to R3 638m, excluding excise duties and levies.

Net operating income has risen by a powerful 27,5% to R1 326,6m. Dividends received (from the group's half share in Sasol 3) are virtually unchanged at R25,9m.

Interest paid shows a sharp decline from R221,5m to R164m, reflecting the repayment of the group's debt to the Central Energy Fund (CEF). The profit statement notes that the amount repaid was R1 100 approximately.

And the 1985 balance sheets show that group debt at the end of the previous financial year was just short of R2 000m (actually R1 998m). Of this sum, R479m was repayable within one year and was included with short-term loans in the accounts.

The amount of loans outstanding, therefore, looks like R900m in round terms.

It is apparent that the exceptional profits earned in 1986 were partly applied to advancing the obligatory schedule of loan repayments.

Returning to the profit figures, the net operating income already recorded translated into income before taxation of R1 185,5m, an increase of 40,8%.

Tax was a whopping R487,3m, leaving income after taxation of

R700,4m after deduction of a nominal amount for the interest of outside shareholders. The tax rate was 41%, compared with 40,5% in the previous year.

An amount of R125m was transferred to an "equalisation reserve" (of course, this application has no influence on tax).

**E**arnings attributable to ordinary shareholders were R575,4m, an increase of 14,6%. But the transfer to equalisation reserve should really be included, in which case the increase in attributable earnings is 39,6%.

The mainstay of Sasol's business is the production of synthetic fuels, mostly at Secunda. But only Sasol 2 (a wholly-owned subsidiary) is brought into the consolidated accounts. The important 50% share in Sasol 3 is accounted for in the income statements only by way of dividend.

In 1985, earnings per share (according to the consolidated figures) were 89,1c. But Sasol 3 made R435,2m in 1985. So Sasol Ltd's attributable share on its one-half holding (and 562,5-million shares in issue) was 38,7c. So a consolidation of Sasol 3 would have given earnings per share of 127,8c.

In 1986 Sasol 3 came heavily into tax (at a rate of 33,2%, as capital allowances were used up). But significance attaches to a drop even

in the pretax profit at Sasol 3 — from R435,2m to R392,9 (9,7%).

**T**he drop clearly relates to an unfavourable combination of movements in the dollar oil price and the rand-dollar exchange rate — of which more will be said later in this analysis.

As far as 1986 goes, consolidating the half interest in the taxed profit of R262,4m of Sasol 3 (or 23,3c for Sasol's interest) gives a figure for earnings of 125,6c (a decrease from the comparable figure of 127,8c).

To round off the figures, the dividend of 45c showed an increase of 15,4% from the previous year's 39c. Cover remained unchanged at 2,5 on the consolidated figures.

Before launching any discussion of prospects it is important to realise that Sasol's operations extend beyond synthetic fuels, although the preponderance of profits undoubtedly derives from this area.

The transfer pricing of the coal mined at the group's mines is set so as to generate a modest return. There are considerable sales of co-product chemicals (such as the high-grade waxes produced at Sasol 1 and many other substances of commercial value).

Sasol now has both fertiliser and explosives divisions making use of co-product nitrogen, resulting from oxygen production.

**A**nd Sasol, through its 52,5% interest in the Natref refinery, is involved in conventional oil refining, too.

We are not allowed to know too much about the economics of oil refining, but it is generally understood that government allows the refineries some kind of cost-plus basis for their operations.

It is also known that Secunda's large synthetic fuels production has backed a significant proportion of imported crude oil out of the SA market, leaving the refiners operating well below capacity (figures of 60% to 70% are guessed about). Sasol has improved the efficiencies of Natref in various ways described in the 1985 accounts.

The decline in the profit before tax at Sasol 3 — from a pure synfuels operation — underlines the statement in the profit statement that there has been a fall in the rand value of petroleum products.

This statement could well be described as euphemistic: the rand equivalent price of oil per barrel has actually crashed.

If we assume a peak when Saudi light crude was \$34 (but SA probably paying more) and the rand was, say, 35c, we come up with a price of R75 per barrel. Now if we call the effective oil price \$15 per barrel at 42,5c we get R35 per barrel.

It should be explained that the pricing of Sasol's output of synthetic fuels is determined according to a formula ("the slate"), which is based on the price of petroleum products at four refineries — one at Bahrain on the Gulf and three at Singapore.

**A**ny shift in these prices away from the pump price fixed by regulation produces either a deficit or

surplus in Sasol's books, which is corrected at intervals through a retail price adjustment.

And the cost of any premium paid by SA over international prices does not figure in Sasol's books. But we may take the international price in dollars as a crude proxy for the posted prices.

□ **FORECAST FOR 1986/87:** Two major economic parameters have to be estimated — the dollar oil price and the rand-dollar exchange rate.

It is very much to be doubted whether the current conditions of over-supply and locked-in production capacity within Opec members will change much for the better during the current year, despite Saudi Arabia's desperate efforts to prop up the market.

But US production could well falter under the impact of relatively high production costs, while Soviet production has topped out for some time to come.

**S**o an educated guess for oil prices should be in the \$12 to \$18 per barrel range (but a rise to around \$20, while not likely, is possible).

The reinstatement of the levy rebate (of 35c SA per litre of synthetic production) is a strong signal that government accepts that the era of super-profits derived from an ultra-high import parity price is well and truly over.

The rebate operates, in effect, as a subsidy to local synthetic fuels and (on a wild guess at production) could be worth more than R200m a year from July 1, 1986.

The rand is likely to rise to the US\$0,45 to US\$0,50 level, but could rise much more if the dollar collapsed. But a dollar collapse would probably reflect in higher dollar-denominated international oil prices.

We can therefore assume roughly static to moderately lower syn-

fuel profits for 1987, taking account both of the rebate and of 40% lower synfuel profits in the last four months of the year.

Oil refining could pick up somewhat as the level of activity in the SA economy rises. No further meaningful increases in output from Secunda are to be attained, notes the profit statement.

Chemical sales will probably continue at present or better levels, taking account of a local improvement. A good season for rainfall could help fertilisers, while explosives will doubtless continue to advance. This, it should be noted, is a new venture. And further debt repayment will reduce the interest bill again.

**T**aking a line through all these difficult extrapolations but also allowing for traditionally conservative accounting, one might guess at earnings per share for 1987 at, say, 10% above the 1986 figure.

The market reacted positively to the statement, taking the share to 800c for a dividend yield on distribution of 45c of 5,6% and an earnings yield on earnings inclusive of Sasol 3 of 125,6 of 15,7%. These compare with 4,7% and 10,6% for the industrials board as a whole (on August 25).

□ **CONCLUSION:** Although the yields are above the industrial average, the uncertainties surrounding the current year's profitability suggest strongly that the share is fairly fully valued at 800c. For all that, its guaranteed market for synthetic fuels is a buffering factor.

But there are likely to be much more rewarding buys on the industrial board as recoveries get under way in cyclically-gearred concern.

So Sasol is best characterised at this stage as a strong hold rather than a buy.

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## BRIEFS

DROP IN JOHANNESBURG BUILDING PLANS--Johannesburg building statistics for July show, that although the number of building plans submitted fell by comparison with July 1985, the Johannesburg City Council's Building Survey branch had 1,097 plans in the pipeline. More than half of those, 652, were awaiting alterations and the remaining 445 were being examined by the municipal planners. The figures disclose that the number of building plans submitted to the council in July was 550 compared with 690 in July last year. The number approved, however, rose to 473 against last year's 462. But their value fell from more than R58 million in July 1985 to just under R43 million this July. The value of buildings completed during the month also fell from R27 million to R20 million. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Sep 86 p 11] /9274

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